A Theological Interpretation of Violence (חָמָס) in Relation to Joshua, Son of Nun: A Paradigm for a Christian Conflict Prevention in Northern Nigeria

By

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Declaration

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…… ……December, 2020.....

Signature Date

Bulus Audu Makama

December, 2020.

Dedication

This dissertation is first of all dedicated to God Almighty for His unfailing provisions and for enabling me to complete this study. I also dedicate the study to my late father Pastor Audu Makama who was martyred on 23rd February 2000 during the *Sharia* Law religious violence in Kaduna, Nigeria. Also to my generous mother Mrs Saratu Audu Makama and to my siblings: Daniel Audu, Tani Monday, Rifkatu John T, Ayuba Audu, Lami Monday, Bitrus Babangida Audu and Ephraim Binawa Audu. The scholarship is also dedicated to my beloved, caring and understanding wife (Batsiratu) Mrs Hannatu Bulus Audu Makama, as well as to our lovely children, Abijah, Aristobulus and Alexander (Bertus) for their love, concern, sacrifice, patience, prayers and moral support.

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וַיִּקַּח שְׁמוּאֵל אֶבֶן אַחַת וַיָּשֶׂם בֵּין־הַמִּצְפָּה וּבֵין הַשֵּׁן וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמָהּ אֶבֶן הָעֶזֶר וַיֹּאמֶר עַד־הֵנָּה עֲזָרָנוּ יְהוָה׃

"Then Samuel took a stone and set it up between Mizpah and Jeshanah, and named it Ebenezer; for he said, "Thus far the Lord has helped us" 1 Samuel 7:12 (NRSV).

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Abstract

This study is a response to ethnic/religious violence that plagues Northern Nigeria. Of even great concern is that this violence is sometimes perpetrated under the banner of faith and God. The study speculates that some of the perpetrators deliberately distort Scriptures to gratify their selfish interests and in the process manipulate unsuspecting believers to assist them in their selfish and cruel interests. However, some may be engaging in these grave acts in the belief that they are being obedient to Scripture and God. This may happen in at least two ways. They may be reading the Scripture literarily without the necessary skills to interpret the Word of God. They may also be the victims of the scrupulous leaders who use the Word of God to attain their selfish and cruel goals. These are the circumstances that motivate this study.

In its response, the study proposes a paradigmatic reading of the Scripture. The study acknowledges that the Bible contains different theological approaches to violence. Some texts present violence as a divine instruction and thus portray God as sanctioning violence as a means to enforce obedience to Him. The Book of Joshua is an example of a book that contains such texts. Other texts however, present God as sponsoring rest and peace for both His own people and foreign nations. The Book of Chronicles is an example of such a book. In a situation where the Bible contains both violence orientated texts and peace orientated texts, readers of the Bible find themselves in a situation where they can endorse violence as divine obedience when it suits them and peace as divine obedience when it suits them. This study argues that these texts themselves, in their own contexts, are not in collaboration but in contestation.

In its proposal for a paradigmatic reading of the Bible in the context of ethnic/religious context in Northern Nigeria, the study takes note of a few factors. The first one is that ethnicity is a contributory factor in the violence witnessed in Northern Nigeria. The second one is that religious diversity is also a contributory factor when not handled cautiously. In the light of these observation, it becomes imperative to distinguish between an exclusive ethnic/religious theology and an inclusive ethnic/religious theology. For this reason, the study engages in the reading of Joshua 6:1-27 and 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 as two texts representing two different theological perspectives on violence. With the help of two analytical tools, namely, de-ideologisation and Canonization, the study does exegesis of these texts. Specifically, the study investigates a character named Joshua in the two narratives. It examines his role in the occupation of Canaan and interprets that as also evincing an ideological perspective on violence. The study is of the opinion that the canonical presentation of Joshua carries elements serving as model for the people of YHWH to judge and act in their own circumstances. The study continues to evaluate the ideologies discernible in the two presentations of Joshua to

confirm whether they are violence orientated or peace orientated. At this point the study examines the Northern Nigerian situation concerning ethnic/religious violence. The study then compares the theologies from Joshua and Chronicles to investigate which is proper to be a biblical paradigm for violent conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. A peace orientated ideology is a proper paradigm for violent conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria, the study concludes. A paradigmatic approach does not only provide moral/ethical guidance but, additionally, also provides a theological framework to engage with Scripture. Such a framework collaborates with similar biblical theological perspectives and contests with contrasting biblical theological perspectives.

Opsomming

Die studie is ‘n reaksie op die etniese /religieuse geweld wat noordelike Nigerië teister. ’n Groter mate van bekommernis is die geweld wat aangevuur word onder die vaandel van ‚geloof‘ en ‚God‘. Die studie spekuleer dat die oortreders opsetlik Bybeltekste verdraai vir eie selfsugtige belange, en in die proses word naiewe gelowiges gemanipuleer om hierdie oortreders te help met hulle selfsugtige en wrede intensies. Sommige mag selfs by die misdrywe betrokke wees met die wan persepsie dat hulle sodoende gehoorsaam is aan die Bybelteks en God. Dit gebeur in hoofsaaklik twee maniere. Hulle kan die Bybelteks letterlik lees sonder om die nodige vaardighede te hê om dit te kan doen. Hulle kan natuurlik ook slagoffers wees van sogenaamde ‚deurdagte‘ leiers wie ten doel het om die Woord van God te gebruik vir hulle eie selfsugtige en wrede doelwitte. Hierdie is die omstandighede wat die motivering is vir hierdie studie.

In reaksie hierop, wil die studie ’n pragmatiese lees van die Bybelteks. Die studie gee toe dat die Bybel verskillende teologiese benaderings to geweld bevat. Sommige tekste verteenwoordig geweld as ’n goddelike instruksie en dus word God voor gehou as die een wat geweld as ’n manier van hoe Hy gehoorsaamheid afdwing goedkeur. Die boek Joshua is ’n voorbeeld van so ’n tipe teks. In teenstelling is daar ook ander tekste wat God voorhou as die een wat rus en vrede bewerkstellig vir Sy eie mense, maar ook die van ‚andere‘volke en nasies. Die boek Kronieke is weer ’n voorbeeld hiervan. Daar bestaan dus ’n situasie waarin die bybelleser geweld en, of vrede kan regverdig, soos dit die leser pas. Hierdie studie argumenteer dat die tekste in hulle eie kontekste mekaar kontrasteer en nie noodwendig ooreenstem nie.

Met die dat die studie ’n pragmatiese lees van de Bybelteks vir ’n noordelike Nigeriese etniese en religieuse konteks wil voorstel, wil die studie kennis neem van ’n paar faktore. Die eerste is dat etnisiteit ’n faktor is wat bydrae tot die geweld in die noorde van Nigerië. Tweedens, religieuse diversiteit is ook n bydraende faktor indien dit nie met deursigtigheid hanteer word nie. In die lig van hierdie observasies is dit uiters noodsaaklik om ’n onderskeid te tref tussen ’n eksklusiewe etniese/religieuse teologie aan en ’n inklusiewe etniese/religieuse teologie. Vir hierdie rede beoog die studie om Joshua 6:1-27 en 1 Kronieke 7:20-29 in diepte te lees as twee tekse wat beide perspektiewe verteenwoordig. Die studie sal die tekse eksegetiseer deur van ideologisering en kanonisering as analitiese gereedskap gebruik te maak. Die studie sal in besonder fokus op Joshua as karakter in beide die verhale. Dit wil sy rol in die inwoning van Kanaän ondersoek en tot hoe ’n mate dit op ideologiese perspektiewe van geweld gebou is. Die studie is van mening dat die kanonitiese voorstelling van Joshua elemente bevat wat as model dien vir die mense van YHWH om te handel en self oor hulle omstandighede te oordeel. Die studie is ’n voortsetting van die evaluering van ideologieë wat in die voorstellings van Joshua

onderskei kan word om te bevestig of dit wel geweld of vrede gerorienteerd is. Op hierdie punt sal die studie die situasie in die noordelike deel van Nigerië ondersoek. Die studie sal dan die teologieë van Joshua en Kronieke ondersoek om vas te stel watter van die twee is 'n gteskikte paradigma om geweldadige konflik in die noorde van Nigerië te verhoed. As 'n konklussie wil die studie voorhou dat 'n vredes georienteerde ideologie 'n geskikte paradigma is om geweldadige konflik in die noorde van Nigerië te voorkom. 'n Paradigmatiese benadering sal nie net morele/etiese rigting bied nie, maar sal ook 'n teologiese raamwerk voorstel hoe om Bybeltekste te benader. So 'n raamwerk stem ooreen met soortgelyke bybelse teologiese perspektiewe en staan in kontras teenoor bybelse teologiese perspektiewe.

List of acronyms and abbreviations

ABH	: African Biblical Hermeneutics
ACRA	: Advisory Council on Religious Affairs'
AIDS	: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ATR	: African Traditional Religion
BBC	: British Broadcasting Corporation
B.C.E.	: Before the Common Era (= BC)
CAN	: Christian Association of Nigeria
CAC	: Christ Apostolic Church
C.E.	: The Common Era (= AD)
CH	: Chronistic History
COCIN	: Church of Christ in Nations
CR	: Chronistic Redactor
DCC	: District Church Counncil
DH	: Deuteronomistic History
DOV	: Decade to Overcome Violence
Dtr	: Deuteronomist
ECWA	: Evangelical Church Winning All
EN	: Ezra /Nehemiah
FCT	: Federal Capital Territory
HIV	: Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDB	: Islamic Development Bank
IEDs	: Improvised Explosive Devices
IFM	: International Monetary Fund
JB	: Jerusalem Bible
JIBWIS	: Jama'atul Bidiah Ikamatu Sunna
JNI	: Jama'atul Nasir Islam
LGA	: Local Government Area
LXX	: Septuagint (Rahlfs translation of the Old Testament)
LXX^{B}	: Codex Vaticanus of the Septuagint
MT	: Masoretic Text
NIV	: New International Version
NT	: New Testament

NRMs	: New Religious Movements
NRSV	: New Revised Standard Version
OAU	: Organization of African Union
OIC	: Organization of Islamic Cooperation
OT	: Old Testament
PFR	: Patriotic Front of Rwanda
SDA	: Seventh-Day Adventist Church
Syr	: Syrian/Syriac
UN	: United Nations
VOA	: Voice of America
WCC	: World Council of Churches
YHWH	: Yahweh

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Framing the problem

Violence (Heb.חָמָס) is a threat found throughout human history and can be traced back to biblical times (Eben Scheffler, 2014:585-589)[1]. Violent conflicts have been an ongoing concern in the world, Africa, and Nigeria today. Since independence from the British on 1 October, 1960 and from the 1980s to date, ethnic and religious violence has become disturbingly more frequent and the levels increase day by day in Northern Nigeria (Ayuba Mavalla, 2014:6). In Northern Nigeria, violence is a common means of resolving conflict in society. The concern of this study is that Christian believers cannot be who they are supposed to be if their primary means of resolving conflict is violence. Christian are supposed to be the salt and the light of the earth. As Matthew 5:9 states: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called children of God" (New Revised Standard Version 'NRSV'). Violent conflict prevention is timely since ethnic and religious violence undermines the status of Christian believers as children of God. The study will explore different biblical narratives especially the Old Testament in search of a better approach to conflict prevention.

Michael Crowder (1962:19) and Joel K.T Biwul (2017:42) explain that Nigeria was, and still is, the most populated country on the African continent, as well as the most populous black nation in the world. The country came into being in 1914 when the two protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria were amalgamated by Sir Frederick Lugard. Today, Nigeria is commonly known as "a giant of Africa", not only due to the size of its population, but also because it represents the largest growing economy in Africa. Mike Smith (2015: xiii) notes that Nigeria gained independence from Britain and became a member of the Commonwealth in 1960. The membership was suspended from 1995 to 1999 following human rights violations. The Eastern region later separated as the Republic of Biafra for a period of severe civil war (1967 to 70); with the largest military force in West Africa ruled by military governments from 1966.

Nigeria consists of a tropical rainforest belt in the south, with a semi-desert in the extreme north and highlands in the east. English, Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba are the chief regional languages (Alan Burns, 1972:16). The religions in Nigeria are: African Traditional Religion (ATR), Islam

[1] Eben Scheffler (2014) is a Professor from UNISA. In his article "Reflecting on (Non-) violence in the Book of Deuteronomy in (Old Testament) Canonical Context," he argues that, in recent Pentateuch scholarship, the book of Deuteronomy is allocated a central place. This is not only with regard to the history of the origin of the Pentateuch, but also in constructing the theology of the Pentateuch, even the Tanach, at large.

and Christianity (Guy Arnold, 1977: viii). Naira is the currency, and the main export is petroleum. The country has thirty-six (36) states, with Abuja as the federal capital city. As of 2019, the estimated population of the country is over 200.96 million, ranking 7th in the world. It has an area coverage of, 923 773 square kilometres 6 669 sq. miles.[2]

Today, Nigeria experiences various social, cultural, religious and political challenges. The nation is infested with some of the most obstinate conflicts, most of them arising from differences in ethnic and religious identities. Ethnic and religious identities have led to conflicts about state power control, unequal allocation of resources, citizenship issues, state collapse, economic decline and ethno-religious clashes. The country has been pushed hither and thither by recurrent crises of regional or state illegitimacy, often impairing efforts at economic transformation, democratisation, national cohesion and stability (Çancı and Odukoya, 2013:87). Indeed, there is no doubt that Nigeria is a pluralistic and complex society. The issue of violence in Northern Nigeria is the research problem that this study will examines. The next section provides the motivation for this study.

1.2 Motivation for the study

The motivation of this study is a conviction that violence undermines human dignity, which is a God-given gift, and is a provocation to God. Human dignity is an inalienable gift (property) from God. This study's view on human dignity is well expressed by Nico Vorster (2012:2) saying:

> Theologically speaking, humankind is God's property. Humans belong to their Creator, for they are his workmanship and are obliged to do his will. Persons do not belong to other persons and therefore have a God-given property in their own person. This entails that persons are entitled to God-given rights that protect their basic properties; it also implies the correlating duty to respect similar properties of other individuals. The human person's most basic property is the right to dignity. Christian ethicists have, at least since the time of Ambrose of Milan, grounded their understanding of human dignity in the biblical concept of the imago Dei, a concept which indicates the basic unity of humankind. According to this view, human dignity entails that human beings are entitled to be treated as worthy of respect and concern, because they stand in a special relationship to God.

[2] World Population Review. 2019. Available online at: http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/nigeria-population/. [Accessed on 21 June, 2019].

As observed above, violence against humans undermines the dignity of its victims. The violation of human dignity is sinful because it defies God by alienating the God-given property from its beneficiary. It invites God's wrath. Vorster (2012:3) expresses this sentiment of inviting God's wrath clearly when he says:

> The right to life, autonomy and equal respect are, in my view, three of the most basic components of a theological concept of human dignity. Without life, no person can possess dignity or exercise rights. The Priestly material in Genesis emphasises that life has a divine origin and that God is the sustainer of all life (cf. Gen 2:7). Because God is the source of life, he is insulted when human life is destroyed, because his communion with the human being is obliterated.

By the ethnic and religious violent conflicts that prevail in Northern Nigeria, God is being insulted! Wisened by Sirach 22:24 that says, "The vapor and smoke of the furnace precede the fire; so insults precede bloodshed," this researcher cannot stand, watch, and keep quiet while God is being insulted. The bloodshed that can be unleashed by God cannot be quantified by any measure, hence this quest for a biblical paradigm for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. In the next section, a review of some existing literature is helpful to understand the Northern Nigerian context of ethnic and religious violence.

1.3 The profile of Nigeria

In order to appreciate the examination of the Nigerian context, it is beneficial to peruse her country profile. We will look at the socio-cultural profile, religion, Islamic influence, and the political landscape. This will help in understanding the background and problem of this study.

1.3.1 Socio-cultural profile of Nigeria

The socio-cultural profile of Nigeria is very helpful in understanding the background of ethnic/religious violence in the country. Toyin Falola (2001:5) points out that Nigeria, which is one of the largest and most important countries in Africa, is rich in traditions and customs, both indigenous and modern. Her volume titled *Culture and Customs of Nigeria* is a concise, authoritative and up-to-date discussion about the Nigerian culture. It introduces a Western audience the challenges of the Nigerian society and the emerging lifestyles among its various peoples. In his discussion of culture in Nigeria, Innocent Osuji (2014:20) describes Nigeria as a multi-ethnic society whose people cherish their traditional languages, music, dance, and literature. He maintains that culture in Nigeria is multi-ethnic, which gives value to different types of arts, which primarily include ivory carving, grass weaving, wood carving, leather and calabash, pottery, painting, cloth weaving and glass and metal works. Nigerian clothing is

unique and attractive. Lace, jacquard, *adire, and ankara* are some of the materials that are used to prepare dresses in Nigeria. Nigerian clothing for women includes *buba, kaba, iro, gele and iborun* or *ipele;* and Nigerian clothing for men includes *buba, fula, sokoto, abeti-aja* and *agbada.* Other than traditional attire, the people also wear western attire.

Culture in Nigeria is related to Education and as such, the importance of education in the history of the country cannot be overemphasised. The "Nigeria Daily" newspaper (2015:8, 3) reports:

> Formal education in Nigeria is traceable to the efforts of European Missionaries around 1842. Education at this time was regarded as of fundamental importance for the spread of Christianity. Thus, education introduced at these early stages was interwoven with Christian evangelism. The missionaries established and ran the early schools in Nigeria. They also designed the curriculum for such schools and devoted their meagre resources to the opening of schools for young Nigerians.

From the above, one can understand that education and culture play very vital roles in the development of Nigeria as a country. This is visible and reflects in the way the people dress, trade, interact and communicate with one another within their communities, religious spheres and the society at large. Lastly on culture, Nigeria is comprised of three main ethnic groups. These are the Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo. There are hundreds as well as other smaller ethnic groups. The complexity of the multi-cultural contexts in Nigeria as seen above to some extents creates much conflict potential. This is because history has indicated that there are over 400 different languages and cultural groups that try to co-exist peacefully in one country (Gat & Yakobson, 2013:287; Audu, 2016: 7-8).

1.3.2 Religious affinity in Nigeria

Religion, as belief in and worship of a supernatural being, is as old as the history of human beings. In Nigeria, the country's main religions are the traditional religions, Islam and Christianity (Enang, 2003:759). Galadima (2000:690; Çancı and Odukoya, 2013:95) point out that "though a secular state, Christianity (50%) and Islam (40%) are the major religions, with (10%) still adhering to traditional religions, though the records vary among scholars." Galadima (2000:690) asserts that Islam arrived in the north during the eleventh century, while Christianity was introduced on the coast in the early nineteenth century by Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics.

While giving an overview of New Religious Movements in Nigeria, Hackett (1987:1) states that Nigeria is a land of great ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, and is characterized by

three religious traditions – Christian, Islamic and traditional religions. Similarly, while commenting on New Religious Movements and Society in Nigeria, Ludwar-Ene (1991:31) shows that the study of new religious movements (NRMs) in Nigeria has become of increasing interest today, both in academic and pastoral circles. The reason for this interest is clear. Nigeria has one of the largest groupings of NRMs in sub-Saharan Africa, second only to South Africa in the entire continent. The available literature, therefore, is understandably large and growing rapidly (Bulus Audu Makama, 2016:3).

Nigerians believe in the Supreme Being, for whom the ethnic groups have different names. Some of the best-known include Ubangiji (YHWH) Allah (Hausa), Olodumare (Yoruba), Chukwu (Igbo), Abasi Ibom (Efik, Annang, Ibibio), Shekwoi (Nupe, Gbagyi), Kasiri (Surubu, Binawa, Kurama), Gwaza (Atyap), Kazah (Bajju) and Owo (Igala) to mention a few (Enang, 2003:759). Currently, Nigeria has witnessed various religious disturbances, some of which have threatened the existence of the country as a nation, and this could be described as both intra-religious and inter-religious (Omotosho, 2003:58). However, one can say these disturbances are more politico-tribal than religious in nature, even though some people may see them as religious simply because the disputing groups adhere to different religions.

Gaudio (2014;9, 2), who posted the cityscape of Abuja showing the city's structural settlement, comments that the geo-sectarian rivalries that beset the Nigerian nation state have roots in British colonial policies and have been exacerbated in recent decades by the global movement of Christian and Islamic missions and militants. Two persistent spots is (Kaduna and Jos) of communal violence is within a region known as the "Middle Belt"[3], which lies between the north and the south. Abuja, the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) of Nigeria, is located in this region, but it is administratively distinct from the states that surround it. Political and economic competition exists in between predominantly Christian ethnic groups, many of whom are farmers, and mainly Muslim Hausa and Fulani. These Muslim Hausa and Fulani Groups consists largely of traders and herdsmen, and have increased for decades resulting in occasional violent eruptions, but lately the violence has become more frequent and vicious. It is understood that in the past there was peaceful co-existence among the diverse religious adherents in Nigeria but, recently frequent clashes, resulting in riots and destruction of lives and property have become the order of the day in the country.

[3] Middle belt is a region that is also called north-central, comprising Plateau, Benue, Nasarawa, Kogi, Kwara, Niger and Abuja. It is a region of multi-ethnic groups, with a high number of Christians compared to other parts of Northern Nigeria (Kukah, 1999:100).

1.3.3 Islamic religion in Nigeria

Islamic religion has a long history in Nigeria, especially in the north, with its advent dating as far back as the eleventh century (Mustahar, 2015).[4] The religion started in the area around the present day Borno State, northeast part of the country, and later emerged in Hausa land in the northwest with its influence being stronger in Kano, Sokoto and Katsina. Islam was for some time the religion of the court and of commerce, and it was spread peacefully by Muslim clerics and traders. However, in the early 1800s, Islamic scholar Usman Dan Fodio launched a jihad[5] against the Hausa kingdoms of Northern Nigeria (Mustahar, 2015). According to Enang (2003:762), the Islamic religion has little influence in the west and the Middle Belt. Islam in Nigeria today influences government decisions, for example in offering support to pilgrims to Mecca and the establishment of *Sharia* courts. History and statistics show that Islam came to Northern Nigeria as early as the eleventh century, as indicated above, and it was well established in the Kanem-Bornu Empire during the reign of Humme Jilmi. It was adopted as the religion of the majority of leading figures in the Bornu Empire during the reign of Mai (King) Idris Alooma in the 16th century.

Alooma introduced Islamic courts, established Musjids and set up a hostel in Mecca for pilgrims. In another record, the Islamic religion came to Hausa land in the 14th century and spread to the major cities of the north by the 16th century, later moving into the countryside and towards the Middle Belt uplands, and arriving in the south-western Yoruba-speaking areas during the time of Mansa Musa's Mali Empire in the 13th century. The Muslims in Nigeria are mainly Sunnis following the Maliki School, and research has shown that at present, many northern states have adopted *Sharia* law[6] (Mustahar, Islamic Focus Nigeria, 2015). Evidence shows that Islam holds control over the government in Nigeria. This has resulted in the call for the adoption of *Sharia* law in the country, generating tension and resistance mostly on the part of Christians. Violent crises and killings therefore erupted in the country especially in the year

[4] D. Mustahar 2015. "Islamic Focus Nigeria." Available at: http://www.islamicfocus.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1000&Itemid=24 (accessed 5th August 2014).

[5] The term Jihad literally means an effort, or a striving. This refers to a religious war against those who are Unbelievers in the mission of Muhammad (Hughes, 1988:243). However, Jihad has been understood by some as a "holy war" in Islam and to some there is nothing like "holy war" in Islam.

[6] This is an Islamic religious law that is based on the teaching of the Quran. *Sharia* laws are basically rooted in the Islamic judicial system. The word *Sharia* refers to the complete universal code of conduct drawn up by Allah through his messenger Muhammad for humankind, detailing the religious, political, economic, intellectual and legal systems. It is meant for universal application, covering the entire spectrum of life, prescribing what is lawful in Arabic (halal) and prohibiting that which is unlawful devoted to God in Hebrew (haram) (Adekunle, 2009:2-3). *Sharia* is an Islamic law that is formed by traditional Islamic scholarship, which most Muslim groups adhere to. Literally, it carries the idea of a path leading to a watering place. *Sharia* constitutes a system of duties that are incumbent upon a Muslim by virtue of his or her religious beliefs.

2000, which probably aided the emergence of terrorist groups such as Boko Haram[7] and the Fulani herdsmen that perpetrate religious and political violence in the country as of the time of writing this study (Mike, 2015:5).

1.3.4 Christianity in Nigeria

The history of Christianity in Nigeria particularly in the north came about as a result of many or several initiatives made by different missionary societies and groups. Kadala (2009:80 and Adogame, 2011:176) recorded that missionary activities started in the north through the efforts of the Roman Catholic mission in the eighteenth century (18th C). Father Carlo de Genova who came from Tripoli in Libya and started mission work in Kukawa in the old Bornu Empire is one among many other missionaries that brought Christianity (the Gospel or good news) to Northern Nigeria. Other missionaries are people like Samuel Ajayi Crowther and Dr S.F Schon who evangelized the north in 1888-1900. People like Miller were also missionaries to Northern Nigeria from 1900 - 1918. By the end of the 19th century, some evangelicals in Europe and America had become concerned about the lack of missionary activities in the Sudan. The records has it that three people, Kent, Gowens and Bingham visited Northern Nigeria for the purpose of evangelism in 1893 and this gave birth to Evangelical Churches West Africa (ECWA), presently known as Evangelical Church Winning All.[8]

Again, for a better understanding about the history of Christianity in Nigeria, Kadala (2009:81-82) submits that the tireless work of the missionaries that came to Nigeria and particularly Northern Nigeria has given birth to so many denominations such as:

[7] Boko Haram is the Hausa-language phrase given to the Islamist insurgency in Nigeria. Mike Smith (2015:212) point that the most commonly accepted translation is "Western education is forbidden," though it could have a wider meaning since "boko" may also be interpreted as "Western deception." This is a radical Islamic sect which is known as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad or Jama'atul Bidiah Ikamatu Sunna (JIBWIS). The name Boko Haram seems not to have been given explicitly by the group to themselves, but rather is the name that possibly originated from the external view of the group's basic beliefs that see western education as evil. Boko Haram members believe in the sovereignty of Allah and that, everyone should undergo Islamic education instead of western education. In my opinion, to them, western education corrupts the society and human beings and only Islamic education can help humanity to be better people who will make a better society. The group, whose ultimate aim is to Islamise Nigeria, is convinced that secular education (*boko*) and Westernised elites (*yan boko*) are the twin problems of the Nigerian state (Maianguwa & Agbiboa, 2014:51). The reason is because the ideology of the insurgents (Boko Haram) for example indicates antipathy towards Western educational norms (Chiroma, 2015: 83). Today, one can say that the reverse is the case in the above analogy about Nigeria if one considered the present English enlighten period.

[8]At the time of writing this research, ECWA from 1954 to date as a denomination has eighty three district church councils and approximately ten million members within and outside of Nigeria. More than half of the district church councils and the membership, including the denomination headquarters, are located in Northern Nigeria (the Middle Belt Region of Nigeria). The denomination has the largest number of members within Northern Nigeria.

i) Protestant churches (for example, Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists, Lutherans, the Brethren, Church of Christ in Nations (COCIN), Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA).
ii) The Roman Catholics
iii) African Independence Churches/White Garment Churches
iv) Christian Sects and Cults
v) The Pentecostal Churches

The above reflection shows the growth, the impact of Christianity and the fruitful work of the missionaries in Nigeria and particularly in Northern Nigeria today. The emergence of Christianity in 18th century and it rapid growth in Nigeria and especially in Northern Nigeria could be seen as one of the reasons why the recurrent attacks on the religion.

1.3.5 The Nigerian political landscape

The name Nigeria is a foreign one. It was first suggested by Flora Louise Shaw, who later became Flora Lugard in 1898. In an article published in "The Times", she refered to the "Niger Area" as Nigeria in the then British protectorates along the River Niger (Ludwig, 2011:174). Due to the expansion of British rule (1880-1914) in Nigeria, the spread of Christianity in that country was facilitated. However, after the independence of Nigeria in 1960, crisis to crisis and conflicts between Christians and Muslims in the country ensued (Ludwig, 2011:176; Smith, 2015: xiii and Anifowose, 1982:31). For example, the Biafra War had a religious element. It was a civil war that was initiated by the declaration of an independent Biafra (south east Nigeria) in 1967-1970. The civil war ended with the defeat of the Biafrans. Afterwards, Nigeria remained one nation but deep divisions persist even at the time of this study (Smith, 2015: xiii). The predominantly Christian (Catholic and Anglican) Igbos in the southeast were afraid of domination by the Muslim north, and thus sought to secede as an independent republic. After the end of the civil war, the former military Head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, tried to pursue a policy of reconciliation. However, a long series of successive military rulers thereafter, mostly from the north, continued with new conflicts rather than peace (Ludwig, 2011:176). This lasted from about 1970 until 1999 with only a short interruption from 1979 to 1983.

The political structure of Nigeria was strongly influenced by the British political system from which Nigeria got its independence. Diamond (1988:71) points out that constitutionally, Nigeria had a federal structure at independence, but it was a structure troubled by tensions and contradictions from the beginning. Thus, after independence, the political landscape of Nigeria still resembled that of its colonizer. Today, Nigeria is thus a federal republic currently under a strong presidential administration. It has a National Assembly made up of two chambers, a

Senate and a House of Representatives, a judiciary and 36 administrative divisions known as states, each of which is divided into Local Government Areas (LGA). In brief, Nigeria is a democratic state with three tiers of government: national, state, and local.[9] This should suffice to give a picture of Nigeria. By giving this background, the hope is that the conflicts that occur in Nigeria are placed into the fore or perspective. To justify the study further, it is proper to identify the gap that this study identifies within research done on Nigeria and in the Old Testament concerning violence.

1.4 Scholarship and research gaps on violence in Northern Nigeria

There is an abundance of theological/religious research on violence in Nigeria (Example, Falola, 1998 & 2015; Omotosho, 2003; Mavalla, 2014; Ezekiel, 2015; Kajom, 2012 and many others). The study examines the violent situation in Nigeria from various theological/religious dimensions. For example, Omotosho (2003:15) gives a survey of religious violence in Nigeria, and thereby points out two types of violence: intra-religious violence (within people of the same religion,) and inter-religious and political violence (between two or more different religions). In his study *Religious violence in Nigeria, the causes and solutions in an Islamic Perspective*, he highlights some causes and solutions to religious violence.

In his view, Omotosho (2003:16) avers that the causes of religious violence in Nigeria are multifaceted. In the case of intra-religious violence he identifies two factors. The first one is, the ignorance or half-knowledge of the true teaching of the very religion that the people involved claim to be defending. The second factor is economic as a cause of religious violence in Nigeria. This is because in spite of the fact that Nigeria as a nation is blessed with both human and natural resources, the gap between the wealthy and the impoverished is ever on the increase. This has led to frustration and disillusion among average Nigerians at the low end of the socio-economic ladder. While many of them turn to outright criminal activities, many others turn to churches and mosques. These reasons have also led to a proliferation of churches and mosques having extreme tendencies which sometimes result in violence.

Regarding inter-religious violence, Omotosho (2003:17), Ezekiel (2015:79) and Falola (1998:2) highlight four factors as listed below: i) The lack of recognition of one another; ii) Campaigns of hatred and blackmail; iii) The lack of genuine desire to understand each other's beliefs and culture; and iv) Extremism (an ideology that is far outside the mainstream attitude

[9] This is confirmed by Osuji Innocent 2014 in his article "The Nigerian Culture and Traditions: Nigeria the Giant of Africa. "Available at: https://osujiinnocent.wordpress.com/nigeria-independent/the-nigerian-culture-and-traditions/. (Accessed 27th June 2019).

or teachings of a particular religion).[10] Having pinpointed some of the causes to intra and inter religious violence in Nigeria, Omotosho (2003: 32) suggests that religious leaders and intellectuals should demonstrate the beauty of their religion to everybody within and outside their fold. If this is done, it will go a long way to resolve the recurrent violence in the nation. Government on their part should encourage the teaching of genuine dialogue at all levels of education.[11] Leaders of Islam and Christianity should preach peace, tolerance and respect for each other as found in their respective holy books (the Quran and the Bible).

Religious leaders are to teach people (their followers) with all sincerity that they should tolerate and respect other religions. If this is done, followers will certainly do so. Religious leaders should not only teach or preach, but should also learn to tolerate and respect others' faiths and accept them as part of the reality of life and be able to tolerate those who are different from them. However, this study notices that there is a limited effort in providing a Scriptural paradigm[12] that can play a formulaic role in the face of the ethnic or religious "other".[13] This is the gap that this study identifies in this research and which it also aims to respond to. For this study, this is important because it provides consistency and a sense of responsible obedience to the canon. The study aims to achieve its goal by exploring the narrative literature of the Old Testament and deduce what the literatures views as a proper theological perspective on the prevention of conflict precipitated by ethnic and religious difference.

In his contribution to conflict transformation in Northern Nigeria, Mavalla (2014:1) like Omotsosho (2003:16), argues that violent conflict has never presented such a challenge to Nigeria, particularly the Northern Nigerian society than it does today. Ethnic and religious violence in Northern Nigeria is actually on the increasing trend. His study titled *Conflict transformation: churches in the face of structural violence in Northern Nigeria* has gone beyond the usual cause of conflict, conflict management, conflict escalation, conflict prevention, resolution, and reconciliation to conflict transformation. In his discourse about conflict transformation, Mavalla (2014:199) asserts that through the use of transformatory

[10] As one of the causes to religious violence in Northern Nigeria, extremism is mostly based on poor knowledge of the teaching of the religion being defended by the group involved (Omotosho, 2003:17).

[11] Like in our modern world today and most especially in Northern Nigerian traditions the determining factors for communities lie more in the sphere of the intellect and theology, confession and church order. In this regard, dialogue will not begin at the centre of a particular self-understanding. Dialogue must thoroughly relativize the sense of identity, so that it does not make itself absolute and exclude others in principle (Gerstenberger, 2002:299).

[12] A paradigm is the generally accepted perspective of a particular discipline at a given time. It is the use of something as a model or example for other cases or to serve as a referral now or in the near future.

[13] In his words Thesnaar (2019:5) argues that "[i]n the face of the other, there is a vulnerability and a defencelessness. The vulnerable face of the other can invite anger, violence and vengeance, but it can be a prohibition against any form of anger, violence and vengeance." This is to say that when Christian and Muslim in Northern Nigeria are able to see the face of each other, it will become more difficult for them to ignore their discomfort with the impact of trauma on the other cause by recurring violence within the region.

policies, such as transforming protracted violent conflict and healing trauma, violence can be resolved. So also, through transformatory policies, processes and practices, the people's physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual consciousness would be awakened to right actions. The study is very relevant in that it brought theological insights regarding the need for conflict transformation and as well the understanding of ethnic and religious violence in Northern Nigeria. His scholarship also proposes that identity crises lay at the bottom of violent crisis in Northern Nigeria. The issue of identity is underlying in the approach of this study to conflict in the encounter with the other (ethnic or religious).

Furthermore, Mavalla (2014:199) details chronicles of conflict transformation anchored on extensive study of Kaduna and Jos Plateau,[14] the two most violent states in Northern Nigeria. Three different denominations, the Church of Nigeria (Anglican), the Evangelical Church Winning All (ECWA), and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (SDA) were selected in respect of their approaches to Muslims in Nigeria. Their exploration of the devastating history of inter-religious violence was effectively used in the study in order to set it within its own context, and to understand how Christians have responded and the ways in which church structures can be used to improve Christian-Muslim relations (Mavalla, 2014:1). In essence, conflict can bring transformation amidst violence if handled very well. This is possible because we often agree to disagree. When conflict produces better ideas on resolving issues, lessons are drawn and learnt from the causes and effects of violence. Also, if proactive measures are taken into consideration rather than being reactive, conflict can bring transformation amidst violence.[15] This is because prevention is always better than cure. Despite the novelty of this study, it still does not close the gap identified by this study and thus can be complemented by this study's approach as outlined above.

In his dissertation titled *Violence and Peace Initiative in Nigeria a Theological Assessment of the WCC's Decade to Overcome Violence and Volatile Nigeria Polity*, David Haji Kajom (2012:13) also joins the discourse. Arguing from a systematic theological point of view, he

[14] Jos Plateau is Nigeria's twelfth largest state. It is popularly known as "the home of peace and tourism." The state is a veritable mini-Nigeria, with its mosaic of indigenous ethnic communities of 100 linguistic groupings and 40 spoken languages. It has seventeen (17) Local Government Areas (LGA) and is situated in Northern Nigeria mostly referred as the heart of the Middle Belt (Africa Report, 2012:1).

[15] Conflict can bring positive transformation amidst violence when people are being forced to produce better ideas on handling the causes and effects of conflict. When conflict makes people to search for new approaches or alternatives that will bring to the fore long-standing problems, then solve them, one can say it has brought transformation amidst violence. Also, focusing on facts and issues rather than on personalities and interpersonal dislike makes conflict positive otherwise conflict is negative as argued in this study. Conflict becomes positive and transformative when it leads to broader consideration of contrasting information domains, deeper understanding of the situations, and richer sets of possible opportunities (De Clercq; Thongpapanl and Dimov, 2009:285).

addresses violence in Nigeria ethically. He commends the Decade to Overcome Violence (DOV) programme of the World Council of Churches (WCC). He argues that the call for peace building by DOV programme needs to be taken seriously by the Christian church in Nigeria in its own efforts to address this problem. To him, violence, whether physical, structural, psychological or in any form can be described as an abuse of life (power) by the powerful. In this regard, justice is very important for a lasting peaceful coexistence especially in Northern Nigeria. The theme of justice which is being fair and doing what is right to the "other" that this study introduces is of prime importance. It is a dimension of the challenge of violence that begs serious attention. There is thus a complementary relationship between Kajom's approach and this study's approach at ethical and theological levels, respectively. The point that was being made in this section is that while there is an abundance of research on the violence in Nigeria, there is still a gap that this study identifies. The gap is to provide a theological paradigm that can help discouraging violence during an encounter with the religious or ethnic "other".

On the other hand, OT scholars have made their contributions concerning the theology discernible in the Deuteronomistic History (DH)[16] concerning the "other." Jerome F.D. Creach (2003:15) states that the concept of violence in the OT is different from our world today. According to him, describing the Israelite invasion of Canaan as violence is a misconception. The attack of the Canaanites in the book of Joshua was a divine order of violence. He argues that it "may be due to the fact that the book understands some violent acts as an acceptable fact of life, a judgement that many modern people do not share" (Creach, 2003:15). He further argues that the Hebrew word חָמָס *ḥāmās* carries a slightly different meaning from the English term. In English, "violence" is typically used rather broadly to mean exertion of physical force that injures or abuses. As such, activities like rape, murder, battlefield, assault, forced sex, rioting can be classified as violence in the modern English term.

[16] The DH is indeed a 'prophetic' history, in the sense that it works with an elaborate scheme of prediction and fulfilment, and the predictions are often uttered by 'prophets'. 2 Kings 17 may be said to provide the rational of the DH which is the longest passage where the author speaks in *propria persona* and it makes much of God's warnings throughout the people's history under the hand of 'every prophet or seer' (Barton, 2007:7). The idea of the DH according to Martin Noth is that Deuteronomy plus Former prophets was an original unit. The DH relates the story of Israel, from the Mosaic foundations in the wilderness down to the fall of Jerusalem and the Bablonian exile. The DH was written during the Neo-Babylonian occupation of Judah in about 560 BCE (Römer, 2007:24-25). As such, the designation "Deuteronomistic History" communicates the conviction that a significant undertaking or redaction took place at some time either before or after the fall of Samaria the Northern Kingdom in 722 BC and that of the Southern Kingdom in 586 BC. Using inherited sources to some extent, this literary undertaking generated a connected narrative in chronological order describing a portion of Israel's history in the land. This was done on the basis of theological perspectives characteristic of the book of Deuteronomy. This narrative later underwent subsequent revision and was eventually divided into individual books (Person, Nelson, McKenzie, Otto and Amit, 2009:5).

In his understanding of the OT, Creach (2003:15) submits that Israel's conquest of Canaan is not to be classified as violence. This is because its purpose was to replace godlessness with the obedience to God's law. This study does not agree with Creach's explanation of violence in the book of Joshua. Creach does not take into account that the story of Israel's occupation of the Promised Land was retold and later "corrected" by the Chronicler (author behind the work of Chronicles) as will be further discuss in the study. This study supposes that it is precisely because the Chronicler did not approve of the violence that prevails in the book of Joshua that he decided to change the story so that the settlement process became a peaceful one. This supposition may not be far-fetched if one considers that peace is one of the main themes of Chronicles.

Another perspective that seems to downplay the violent nature of the conquest of Canaan is by Robert Boling. Boling (1988:27) considers violence, especially in Joshua, as a tradition in which the sovereign YHWH acts in his role as Warrior against the forces opposing his will and on behalf of his chosen people Israel. For example, the march through the wilderness from Egypt to Canaan is pictured as a triumphal march of the divine commander in chief, leading his earthly and heavenly forces from the Sinai wilderness to victory against the Egyptians. This is because the whole power of the universe belongs to him and he works for himself, often in a mysterious way. Disobedience is often the reason for YHWH's violent act. In his understanding, Boling (1988:28) explains that the Divine Warrior motif (in which victory is always YHWH's) is regarded by modern scholars as "Holy War," and that the war against Canaan can be understood as an act of worship to God (McConville, 2017:62 and Boling, 1988:28).

The above perception seems to downplay the violent nature of the attack of Canaan by the Israelites. It also justifies it as a divine order. What this perception overlooks is that this perception is not an Old Testament perspective but a Deuteronomistic one. As already indicated in the discussion of Creach's point of view, the same story of settlement is retold in a totally different manner in Chronicles. The settlement of Canaan in 1 Chronicles 1-9 is a peaceful one. This study views this theme of violence against the Canaanites in the Joshua narrative more as an understanding of God by the Deuteronomist, which can be compared to the opposite Chronistic understanding of God in this regard. For this reason, the study struggles to accept the downplaying of the violent nature of the Joshua narrative.

A different perception of violence in Deuteronomy and by extension, of Joshua, is Eben Scheffler's. Scheffler's perception of Deuteronomy contradicts the denialist views that the conquest of Canaan is not violence but the replacement of a godless community or divine order.

Creach himself admits that Joshua is based on the theology of Deuteronomy. Schefler's identification of Deuteronomy as a violent book thus impacts on the judgement of the book of Joshua as a violent book as well. Scheffler's perspective is the one that resonates with the perspective of this study on Joshua as a violent book. This is the perspective that this study will be presenting in the course of the discussion. In agreement with Cezula,[17] the study cherishes the idea of interpreting violence in Joshua not based on emotional reactions to the problems of a literal reading of this narrative "but rather on exegetical observations."[18] This discussion has demonstrated the kind of debate that is ongoing on the understanding of God in relation to the religious or ethnic "other". Let us now proceed to the aim of the study.

1.5 Aim of the study

This study's objective is to investigate and interpret the theological attitude towards the "other" (strangers) in two different corpora of the Old Testament (OT) Narrative Literature. This is because the OT is very wide in scope, and cannot be covered satisfactorily in this study, hence the research is limited to the Narrative Literature. The study engages in this kind of venture because it is in search of a biblical paradigm or model for conflict prevention. It is in search for an example to follow in the process of conflict prevention. This is motivated by the awareness that the OT Narrative Literature is part of the authoritative Scriptures of the Christian communities.

Authoritative Scriptures are normally trusted as true or reliable. They thus have power to persuade people to a particular thought-pattern. The power of authoritative Scriptures is great that even if they advocate ideas that may lead to the harm of some people in a particular context, followers feel obliged to obey them because of the power they command. For this reason, the study explores whether it is possible to search for an alternative perspective within OT in a case where the prevailing OT perspective seems to bring about an ethical crisis in a specific context. The concern is that, when a prevailing OT perspective leads to an ethical crisis, people may be harmed by what is supposed to save them. What believers sometimes downplay about Scriptures is that they are the Word of God that has been pronounced in different circumstances during different historical times in the duration of the biblical times.

For this reason, the study argues that God might not necessarily have responded the same way to a particular issue in different circumstances and historical times of the biblical narratives. This therefore, is a dynamism that this study would like to explore. This is especially important

[17] Forthcoming
[18] Forthcoming (5)

when engaging with the issue of violence which is a very complex matter. Some texts are explicit about violence and some implicit. For this reason, the concept of canon for DH and CH which is ideological is highly significant that readers of the text consider the implications of the fact that the OT narratives depict activities of a variety of historical periods and circumstances. For example, there is a long period in which Israel had no king. There is another long period in which Israel was a kingdom. At another point in time of the history of the Israelites, they were exiles in Babylon without a king and later Israel was a province within a foreign empire. The DH, for example, can be argued to have been finalised during the exilic period in Babylon. This is because the study deals with the text in its final form. The CH, on the other hand, can be argued to have been produced during the post-exilic Persian Empire period. These corpora are therefore interesting in the sense that they tell the same narrative about Israelites, albeit in different ways.

The aim of this study therefore, is to investigate whether the DH and the CH advocate a uniform theological perspective on violence against the religious or ethnic "other". Specifically, the study will focus on the portrayal of Joshua in these two narratives, since they originated from different historical periods. The choice of Joshua in this study is because there is violence within the book. The objective is to examine whether the portrayal of Joshua in these compilations evinces the same theological perspective on violence against the religious or ethnic "other". The study hopes that such an exercise can contribute greatly in its quest to search for a biblical paradigm for violence and conflict prevention. The motivation is to search for a proper theological perspective that can be applied in the context of Northern Nigeria. The ultimate intention is to contribute theologically in the discourse on violence and conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. This is because Northern Nigeria has experienced sporadic outbreaks of violence in the last three decades. Against this background, it might be helpful to present the research question that this study will be contending with throughout.

1.6 Research question

The research question of the study is thus: "What is the potential impact of the different presentations of Joshua, the son of Nun, in the DH on the one hand, and in the CH on the other, on the theological attitude of the Bible readers towards the ethnic/religious "other"? Furthermore, "Does the Old Testament provide one theological perspective on violence towards the 'other', and by extension, on ethnic/religious conflict? Does it reinforce or diminish the propensity to resolve conflict violently? This line of enquiry can be taken even further to ask whether the Bible provides one theological perspective on violence. However, because this is an Old Testament study, the question is limited to the Old Testament.

This question is motivated by a need to see the violent context in Northern Nigeria coming to an end. The study hopes that this question will lead to a fruitful search for a theological paradigm for conflict prevention which may be helpful in a discourse on the Nigerian violent context. The study, therefore, will probe the different depictions of Joshua the son of Nun in the DH and the CH, respectively. This is meant to identify a perception on ethnic/religious violence that can be proposed in a discourse on conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. The hypothesis of this study here below responds to this question.

1.7 Hypothesis and presuppositions

The hypothesis of this study is that, the Old Testament does not advocate a uniform theological perspective on ethnic/religious violence. Some texts portray God as instructing violence, and thus obedience to the covenant with God entails violent acts. On the other hand, other texts portray God as peace fostering, and thus advocate peace. To test this hypothesis, the study will explore the Deuteronomistic History on the one hand and the Chronistic History on the other. At this point it is important to highlight that the concept of the Chronistic History in its original sense, refers to Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. However, this study employs the same concept to depict Chronicles without Ezra-Nehemiah, which is not usual. This is a way of underpinning this study's standpoint in the argument of the authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. It is therefore impotant that the reader should take note of this study's use of this concept. The Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History therefore, will be compared as to how they present Joshua, the son of Nun, as a character. Specifically, the characterization of Joshua in the book of Joshua will be examined in relation to the characterization of Joshua in Chronicles.

Summarily the study will premised on the following assumptions:

i. That Stordalen's theory of canonization can be argued to be useful in understanding theological differences on violence in the Old Testament.
ii. The DH and the CH perspectives regarding ethnic/religious violence can influence the modern exegete in the interpretation of OT narratives.
iii. That a theological interpretation of violence concerning Joshua the son of Nun can provide a biblical paradigm for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria.
iv. The OT authors or redactors interpreted and explained the reality of ethnic/religious violence in accordance with the challenges of their respective socio-historical contexts.

1.8 Research design and methodology

Regarding the research method as understood by Babbie and Mouton (2001), this research is qualitative[19] in nature and in terms of its design, it takes the form of a literature study. According to Bless, Smith and Sithole (2013:130), a research design relates directly to answering of a research question and for testing of the hypothesis. A methodology of a research project refers to a way of doing something or a path that will be travelled to answer research questions. It is also a philosophy or the general principle that will guide the research (Dawson, 2013:18). This study will analyse the content of written material in search of meanings and behavioural patterns that underlie the texts to be read. The texts to be read are part of the OT Narrative Literature, namely, the Deuteronomistic History (DH) and the Chronistic History (CH). The reason for choosing these texts is that the Deuteronomistic History is first and foremost a response to earlier Scriptures and also earlier than Chronistic History. On the other hand CH is later and somehow responds to earlier Scriptures. This provides fertile ground for research aiming to compare different theologies from different contexts.

Also, because the study will focus on different depictions of Joshua the son of Nun, the Deuteronomistic History automatically qualifies. Because the Chronistic History used the DH as one of its sources, it makes a perfect match for the aim of this study. This is referred to as primary material. The study will also investigate secondary material. This refers to Bible commentaries and scholarly works on the relevant biblical compilations. Literature on Northern Nigerian communities will also be consulted. Any other written material that might be necessary as the study progresses will be utilised. The study will thus be qualitative research and not a quantitative one.

There are two historical phases in this research study; the Deuteronomistic History (DH) which interprets earlier traditions to respond to the challenges of its historical circumstances (Exilic), and the Chronistic History (CH) which interprets the Deuteronomistic History to respond to its historical circumstances (Post-exilic). It is against this background that the study will examine the portrayal of Joshua, the son of Nun, in the DH and the CH. In the DH, the study will be specific to Joshua as a character in Joshua 6:1-27. In the CH it will be specific to 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. The study is convinced that the portrayal of Joshua in the two narratives serves a theological purpose. In the DH, Joshua is the leader of a violent takeover of the Canaanite land while in the CH he was born ten generations later than Ephraim, who was already settled in the

[19]The study uses qualitative research design which is described as, "the non-numerical examination and interpretation of observations for the purpose of discovering underlying meanings and patterns of relationships" (Van der Walt, 2014:67).

land. The study postulates that the violent takeover of the Canaanite land is a symptom of an underlying violent theological approach to ethnic/religious conflict. On the other hand, the peaceful settlement of the land hints at an underlying peaceful theological approach to ethnic/religious conflict. Since the researcher is from Northern Nigeria, an area which is plagued by ethnic/religious violence, this study seems to promise a proper paradigm for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria.

On the interpretation of Scriptures in terms of their theological postures, the study will be based on Terje Stordalen's theory of Canonization. Stordalen (2007:20) argues that "social dynamics require that a canon remains convincing, which inevitably means it must be flexible… Since change in a formalized canon is rare, most strong canonical traditions obtain flexibility by way of interpretation". The theory postulates that canons, which are authoritative Scriptures, are formed at specific moments in the history of their communities. As time progresses, new contextual challenges arise and when the canon cannot satisfactorily address the challenges, commentaries come forward to make the canon relevant for current times. Some of these commentaries later become canonical themselves. Also important to note, the theory argues that canons take an ideological function. This means that texts also need to be interrogated for the ideologies/theologies that underlie them.

Thus, the study employs de-ideologisation, which is a literary method and canonisation, which is a historical-critical method as exegetical tools to strengthen the reading of the Bible to engage with violence in Northern Nigeria. Since the researcher is an African and because the study uses Old Testament narrative literatures to unlock theological dynamics in an African context, this study is classifies as African Biblical Hermeneutics (ABH).

The methodological steps for the study will be to demonstrate that:

1. The book of Joshua is part of the Deuteronomistic History (DH).
2. The Deuteronomistic History (DH) is before the Chronicles or the Chronistic History (CH).
3. The DH is an Authoritative Text for the CH.
4. Joshua is an Authoritative Text for Chronicles.
5. The CH is commenting on the DH including Joshua.
6. The application of the CH to Northern Nigerian ethnic and religious violence.

Thus is the research design and methodology of this study. Let us now present the conceptual framework of the study.

1.9 Concepts and terminology

This study wants to contribute to the discourse on ethnic/religious violence in Northern Nigeria. However, there are some concepts and terminology that need to be explained because the study is convinced that they play a crucial role in the discussions that will take place in the study, and thus need to be clearly understood. Similar concepts may be understood differently, so it is important to know how significant terms are used by a particular study. These concepts are: violence, theology/ideology, de-ideologisation, canon and canonization, and conflict prevention.

1.9.1 Violence

Violence[20] can be understood differently in different contexts. Cheryl A. Kirk-Duggan (2000:1357) defines violence as:

> … ethical, physical wrong; extreme wickedness, malicious witness; institutional injustice; injurious language, violent mechanisms. It designates innocent suffering, with human subjects and objects, resulting from greed or hatred, but not natural catastrophes.

There are many other definitions of violence which do not necessarily have to be outlined here because of space and time constraints.[21] Since this study is mainly precipitated by ethnic/religious attacks of one identity group by another identity group in Northern Nigeria, Kirk-Duggan's definition captures the essence of this study's conceptualisation of violence. It is aggressive physical attack which results in forced migration, injury or death. It also refers to injurious language that results in loss of dignity and respect or which has potential to insight attack. Violence can be categorised as structural, direct, indirect, divine or ethnic/religious (Claassens, 2018: 619). Specifically, this study is concerned with such violent behaviour as directed to the ethnic/religious "other".

1.9.2 Theology/ideology

In defining these concepts, it is preferable to start with ideology and follow with theology. A definition followed by this proposal is a definition by Ntozakhe Cezula. Using the insights of Jonathan Dyck, Cezula (2013:20) defines ideology as follows: "ideology is a set of ideas held

[20] Creach (2003:15) observes that the Hebrew language does have a word which means "violence" (hāmās) but carries a slightly different connotation from the English term. For example, in English, "violence" is typically used rather broadly to mean something like action of physical force that injures or abuses. Violence is a threat and it is a global phenomenon (Remi Anifowose, 1982:1). It is sometimes refers as "make a noise, move noisily, confuse, discomfort, act wrongly or panic" like in Joshua 10:10 and Judges 4:15 (Brown, 1906:243 and Holladay, 1971:109). As such, violence in English can refer to anything from rape to a battlefield assault (Judges 20:5 and 2 Samuel 13:14). The OT seems to understand violence more narrowly; as it referred violence to an action that tears the fabric of the Israelite society by defying the sovereignty of God. Violence is most spoken of in the context of human arrogance and imperious self-interest.

[21] cf. Botterweck and Ringreen; Davidson, and Brown, 1981:478; 1848:194-195; 1906; 2000 and 1981:243; Kajom, 2015:13; Agang, 2010:28; Iliyasu et al, 2013:869; Scheffler, 2014:585-589 and others.

by a particular group or person in a particular socio-historical setting to mould and shape the community into a particular direction. It may defend and strengthen an existing system (status quo) or strive to bring about a new system (change)". The main emphasis here is on the fact that ideology forms opinions to persuade the public. Although some theological scholars are not comfortable with the association of ideology and theology, it is a fact that theology also aims to make the public understand certain issues in certain ways. For this reason, the two concepts will be used interchangeably in this study.

1.9.3 De-ideologisation

In an article titled *De-Ideologizing Ezra-Nehemiah: Challenging Discriminatory Ideologies* by Cezula, de-ideologisation is briefly discussed. It does not mean to strip the text of its ideology so that the text is ideology-free. "That is somewhat idealistic", he argues. "Narratives are ideological and ideologies are manifest in narratives." "De-ideologisation means to identify the ideology in a text and bring forward other ideologies that compete with it to allow biblical readers to be aware of different ideologies at play. In other words, de-ideologisation, as will be utilised in the study, helps the reader to see beyond what is presented to them, thereby freeing them from the confines of the dominant ideology and providing them with the freedom to choose" (Cezula, 2015:119-120).

1.9.4 Canon and canonization

Barry A Jones (2000: 215) defines canon as "a Christian term for the religious writings of ancient Israel held as sacred by Judaism and Christianity". However, in this study, the concept of the canon is not used in the conventional sense of a rigid canon. Instead, the concept here is used according to Terje Stordalen's theory. Stordalen talks of a canonical ecology. The canonical ecology entails the canon, the canonical community, which refers to the adherents of the existing canon. It also entails the canonical commentary. A canonical commentary is the interpretation of the canon in different historical times when the canon loses relevance due to changed socio-historical circumstances. The commentary is kept alongside the canon so that there is a symbiotic relationship between the two. The commentary provides relevance for the canon and the canon provides authority for the commentary. In this sense, the commentary becomes a canonical commentary. In this study therefore, canonisation is a dynamic, ongoing interaction between the canon and socio-historical changes.

1.9.5 Conflict prevention

A common concept for a discourse on the alleviation of conflict is conflict resolution. However, the study is also convinced that the words that we use should also evince the ideals that we

strive for. For that reason, the study chooses to use conflict prevention instead of conflict resolution. From a semantic point of view, resolution refers to what has already taken place while prevention refers to what has not yet taken place. It is this study's ideal that ethnic/religious violence will ultimately come to an end and thus prevention can serve the interests of such an ideal better. It calls for a proactive approach rather than a reactive one. A theology that discourages ethnic/religious conflict can play a proactive role. This study hopes to come up with a theology that discourages believers from engaging in ethnic/religious violence and thus prevent it rather than resolving it.

1.10 Limitations of the study

The scope of this research is limited to violence in Northern Nigeria in general and also in Kaduna and Plateau states (provinces) specifically, which are part of the 19 states in Northern Nigeria. It is assumed that the outcome for Kaduna and Plateau states regarding violence could be representative of similar occurrences in Northern Nigeria. This is because Kaduna state is the state of the researcher's origin while Plateau is his neighbouring state. The researcher understands the violent conditions in Kaduna and Plateau well than in other places due to their proximity. This limits the study in the sense that people might be from the same state but there will be some micro-differences still.

Since this is a theological study, violence is a wider problem than theology. The study will attend to mainly biblical aspects of the discussion while a topic of this nature requires far more than that. Politics, economics, development, culture and others all form different dimensions of violence as a problem. Nevertheless, a huge problem like this one does not need a one-sided approach either. These reasons do not in any way invalidate the need for this study. Instead, the study contributes an aspect which might be easily ignored but which is significant in its own right. The study is interested in approaching the problem of violence from a theological perspective because some people use authoritative texts to justify their violent behaviour. Northern Nigerian people look for God in everything they do. The Christians have high regard for the Bible which is the authoritative text. Whatever happens, they attach it to God. The people always want to know the mind of God in whatever they do.

Believers are motivated by theology, that is, on what the Scripture says. Ideology/theology is both part of the problem and also part of the solution to the problem of ethnic/religious violence within the region. Someone may use theology wrongly or correctly to promote or discourage violence like using the text of Joshua or Chronicles respectively. The relationship that the people have with theology and God can contribute to the problem of violence or solve the problem if used positively. Therefore, this study is relevant as it considers a theological

interpretation of violence in Joshua son of Nun in order to suggest a paradigm for a conflict prevention strategy in Northern Nigeria.

1.11 Significance of the study

The goal of this research is to broaden the horizon of on-going discussions on violence and the role that the understandings of the Bible may play therein. The study observes that human ideology and culture creates a conducive environment for violence in general. The study also sees violence as one of the characteristics of the Deuteronomistic History. Why use Joshua for this study? There is violence within the book, and as such it is a good text to use Terje Stordalen's theory.

The study does not in any way propose to provide all the answers to the problem of violence. Instead, the research hopes to draw attention to the problem of violence in Northern Nigeria and suggest a paradigm for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. The proposed study is considered significant because it is a theological interpretation of the Old Testament narratives on violence, which is a relatively untapped area within Evangelicals and in the Northern Nigerian theological scholarship.

1.12 Structure of the research

This section gives the structure of the research and serves as the summary and conclusion of chapter one. Having considered the background of this study, the study is divided into eight chapters as follows:

Chapter one has covered the background, preliminary literature, the research problem, research questions, theoretical hypotheses, aims and objectives, the research methodology as well as the conceptual framework of the study. The socio-historical and cultural context of Northern Nigeria helps to understand ethnic and religious violence and as well simplify a dialogue between Northern Nigerian culture and the biblical culture.

Chapter two will present the contextual information on the Northern Nigerian context. The discussion here will elaborate on what has been hinted already in the introductory chapter in subsection 1.3. The chapter is intended to provide the background that should inform the researcher in weighing the plausibility of the different theologies for Northern Nigeria.

The third chapter discusses at length the theories that is used in this study as methodological tools. The chapter gives the description of the research methodology. Terje Stordalen's theory of canonization is utilized as the main theory of the study. The study describes Joshua as an

authoritative text originating from the exilic period while Chronicles a commentary that made it relevant in the post-exilic period.

Chapter four examines the introductory issues concerning both the DH and the CH. This exercise seems to be a monotonous and unattractive exercise. However, a stance one takes on issues like date, author and provenance does also impact on interesting bigger issues like the theology of the text.

Chapter five focuses on Joshua 6:1-27. In this chapter the text will be analysed in order to establish how the Deuteronomistic History portrays Joshua in terms of ethnic theology. Other factors relevant to Joshua which impact on the ethnic theology he evinces will be examined, for example, the covenant to which he adheres.

The next chapter is chapter six. The chapter will focus on 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. This chapter is parallel to its predecessor chapter. It follows a similar format as chapter five. The text will be analysed to determine the kind of ethnic theology the character of Joshua evinces in this chapter. Everything that happened in chapter five will also happen to this chapter in order to provide a fair investigation to both chapters.

The seventh chapter will be the climax of the study. In chapters five and six we would have spelt out the ethnic theologies in our respective texts as either inclusive or exclusive. In chapter two we would have presented the socio-historical context of Northern Nigeria. At this point, the necessary information to make an informed decision as to which ethnic theology will be proper for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria will be at hand. The study therefore will make its choice.

The eighth chapter is the last chapter that will summarise the study. It will also highlight the conclusions that the study will make as it progresses. The chapter will also revisit the research question, the hypothesis and presupposition to evaluate them against what will transpire at the end of the study. Recommendations will also be provided as based on the findings of the study. Again, it will conclude by proposing a biblical paradigm for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria based on the findings of the observations of behaviour patterns in the books of Joshua and Chronicles.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIO-CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter, in introducing this study, presented introductory issues to inform the reader about what to expect as the study unfolds. Among those introductory issues were the background, preliminary literature, the research problem, research questions, theoretical hypotheses, aims and objectives, the research methodology as well as the conceptual framework of the study. This chapter will first present the historical context of Nigeria in general. It will then present the socio-cultural context of Northern Nigeria. Then, a brief history of Northern Nigeria. It will continue and provide an overview of conflict trends in Northern Nigeria. It will also present subsections on the media, political affiliation, economic factors, socio-cultural factors and ecological factors. Politics, diplomacy and religion will be discuss in the next section. The study will finalise with the Bible and violence in Northern Nigeria. The conclusion will bring the whole discussion to a close.

2.2 Historical Context of Nigeria

Historically and politically, Nigeria was officially colonised by Britain in 1861 with the establishment of the colony at Lagos. This culminated in Lord Lugard's amalgamative fiat of 1914. The amalgamation of 1914 led to the emergence of the entity now known as Nigeria (Kadala, 2009:78; Fleck, 2013:30-31 and Stefanos, 2010:4). Before 1861, Nigeria comprised of three very distinct administrative regions. The western region was dominated by the Yorubas, the eastern region dominated by the Igbos, and the vast northern region dominated by the Hausa-Fulani the former ruling class of whom was known as the Sokoto Caliphate. In 1960 when Nigeria got her independence from Britain, the above-mentioned three regions continued

to be self-governing states within a federation. Each had its own legislature, executive and judiciary. Today, however, Nigeria has thirty-six states with Abuja as the capital city. Abuja was established in the former northern region in 1976 and only became capital city in 1990 to replace Lagos as the capital city. Of some concern, currently the Nigerian political discourse is dominated by arguments for further state-formation. Such a discourse does have implications for identity formation, whatever the implications might be. Having discussed Nigeria's general history, let us now move to examine the socio-cultural context of Northern Nigeria particularly.

2.3 The Socio-Cultural Context of Northern Nigeria

Northern Nigeria is rich in traditions and customs that are both indigenous and modern. The region is a multi-ethnic society. Until now, the people are generally hospitable and accommodating and have similar cultural and traditional ways of life. In the past, people from all parts of the region coexisted peacefully with each other as citizens of one nation. This point is very important to take note of as our theme is concerned about peace. The people are predominantly farmers. Northern Nigeria has a very rich and diverse cultural heritage which they uphold religiously. This has resulted into many festivals which provide entertainment to the people and visitors from many nations all the year round. It has also provided veritable tools of unity and progress for the various ethnic groups (Ezekiel, 2015:3-4). Interestingly, all these ethnic groups scattered around the region have a profound presence and are proudly Northern Nigerians. If it was not for the recent violent circumstances of Northern Nigeria, the region would still be known to be a place where unity seems to be very much compatible with diversity, especially in the past decade.

For a better understanding of the socio-cultural situation of Northern Nigeria, it is good to highlight that the cultural treasures and artefacts of the region occupy significant places of honour in galleries throughout the nation and beyond. The indigenous way of dancing, songs, and dressing during their annual cultural days has won distinction at international festivals (Mavalla, 2014: 137 and Nguvugher, 2010:24). Northern Nigerians are also known for different types of arts, which primarily include ivory carving, grass weaving, wood carving, leather and calabash work, pottery, painting, cloth weaving and glass and metal work. Northern Nigerian clothing is unique and attractive. Lace, jacquard, *adire*, and *ankara* are some of the materials that are used to make dresses in Nigeria. The people wear *agbada (bubban riga)* caftan and Western attire too (Osuji, 2014:20).

The common religions in Northern Nigeria include Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religions (ATR). Religiously, the contemporary Christian-Muslim ratio is a highly contentious issue. However, there is a widespread belief that Nigeria is equally divided between Christians

and Muslims, although there are many other religious groups which form part of the population (Stefanos, 2010:2). It is noteworthy that Nigeria's population has more Christians than any other African state and more Muslims than any other African state. It is estimated that one out of every six Africans is a Nigerian (Stefanos, 2010:2). Socially, Northern Nigeria is multi-ethnic. The region has an estimated 200 ethnic language groups (Gat and Yakobson, 2013:287). The three major ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria are Hausa/Fulani, Tiv and Gbagyi, which together make up more than half the population. The Hausa/Fulani, who are predominantly Muslims, mostly inhabit the far north, north-west and north-eastern parts of the country and are arguably the most mobile ethnic group (owing in part to their commercial dexterity), while the Tiv and Gbagyi are predominantly Christians and mostly inhabit the middle belt region. The Yoruba, who are balanced in religious diversity, live predominantly in the south-west. Most Northern Nigerians speak at least one of the three major national indigenous languages (Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo). The official language is English.

2.4 Brief history of Northern Nigeria[22]

Northern Nigeria predominantly consists of the Hausa, Fulani, Gbagyi and Tiv tribes. In 1900 Nigeria became a British colony. This was the result of 1885 Treaty of Berlin, which granted Northern Nigeria to Britain. Britain already had protectorates in southern Nigeria. Frederick Lugard, who was the British governor at the time, negotiated with and sometimes coerced the emirates of the north into accepting British rule. In pursuit of this objective, Lugard realised that the best option was to seek the consent of the local rulers through a policy of indirect rule. This is an administrative system which was used by Britain to use traditional rulers and traditional political institutions to govern the people. Laws and policies were formulated and enforced through this indirect rule. Traditional rulers only served as intermediaries between the people and the British government. In 1914 Lugard decided to merge the Northern Nigerian Protectorate with Southern Nigeria (Osuji, 2014: 20-21). Historically, Northern Nigeria is part of the area known to historians and geographers as Western Sudan (Kadala, 2009:72).

Historically and culturally, Northern Nigeria has been in contact with the outside world since the beginning of the middle ages. The Trans-Saharan trade route linked this region with places like North Africa, Asia and the Middle East. Through these interactions, Northern Nigeria was introduced to civilizations from Egypt and other parts of the world. The Islamic faith was the

[22] To understand the background of Northern Nigeria, the study briefly talks about Nigeria as a whole. However, the focus is specifically based on Kaduna and Plateau states in which the two are part of the 19 states in Northern Nigeria. It is assumed that the outcome for Kaduna and Plateau states regarding violence could be representative of similar occurrences in Northern Nigeria. This is because Kaduna state is the state of the researcher's origin while Plateau is the researcher's neighbouring state. The researcher understands the violent conditions in Kaduna and Plateau well than in other places due to their proximity.

agent of these new civilisations. At the moment, Northern Nigeria comprises of 19 states. These include, Adamawa, Bauchi, Benue, Borno, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Kogi, Kwara Nassarawa, Niger, Plateau, Sokoto, Taraba, Yobe and Zamfara. While Northern Nigeria is ethnically and religiously diverse, Islam is overwhelmingly in majority, more than in east, south and west of the country. During pre-colonial times, the northern part of Northern Nigeria was divided into Hausa land, Gbagyi land and the Tiv land.

The study reckons that it might be important to highlight a unique historical feature of one of the three lands; Hausa land. Hausa land comprises of Kano and Sokoto regions. This area has come to be popularly known as "Daulan Usmaniya". Daulan Usmaniya refers to land ruled by Usman Dan Fadio. Usman Dan Fadio conquered the Hausa lands by jihad. The Usman Dan Fadio Jihad is a political and social revolution led by Usman Dan Fadio which spread from Gobir throughout modern Nigeria and Cameroon and was echoed in a jihad movement led by the Fulani ethnic group across West Africa. After conquering Hausa land, Usman Dan Fadio converted all people into Islamic religion and thus the Usman Dan Fadio Jihad had a strong impact on the nature of Hausa land. The three geo-political divisions of Northern Nigeria are North-East, North-North and the North-West regions. The researcher's intuition senses political undertones in this division, particularly, for religious manipulation and domination of minority tribes, since ethnic identity, religious identity and political affiliation tend to coincide in most cases.

This division within these regions has politically advantaged the majority Hausa people and led to them winning elections. North-East, North-West, and North Central are under the Hausa/Fulani and Christians are in the minority. These are some of the areas with recurrent ethnic/religious conflict. As of today, North-Central Nigeria, which is carved from Northern Nigeria known as the "Middle Belt", is experiencing so many conflicts. The Hausa majority in Northern Nigeria do not want to recognize the region because of its multi-ethnic groups, which has a high number of Christians compared to other parts of Northern Nigeria (Kukah, 1999:100, Daniel, 2017:22-23). As observed in chapter one section 1.3.2, areas that make up the "Middle Belt" region include, Plateau, Nassarawa, Benue, Kaduna and Niger, and Abuja respectively. The Middle Belt region are areas where Christianity has had a great impact through the provision of a good education, health, and some social amenities. As a result of their impact especially in developing the nation, Christians in these areas are mostly attacked not only because of their impact in the governance of the country but mostly because of their faith and their growing population (Kadala, 2009:73; Ezekiel, 2015:3). This background should be helpful in our endeavour to search for an ethnic theology that is proper for Northern Nigeria.

2.5 A brief overview of conflict trends in Northern Nigeria

The phenomenon of violence is multi-dimensional in the Northern Nigerian context. The region has been a quasi-war zone with the North-East the epicentre of war since Boko Haram's 2009 uprising. Many people in Nigeria have been victims of the recurrent violence in the country. Mallam Nasir Ahmad El-Rufai the current governor of Kaduna state as at the time of writing this study, highlights that years of militant convictions, of religious doctrines and abysmal leadership have birthed a concatenation of poverty in Northern Nigeria. It has also resulted to diseases, terror, violence, banditry, drug abuse, and other indices of social breakdown within the region (Adelakun, 2019: 1-2). Even though 'peace talks' have been implemented to counter violence, they were found inadequate in dealing with violence in Northern Nigeria.

Differences in ethnic/religious ideologies have contributed greatly to the failure of peace talks. Nigeria's national anthem ends with "Peace and unity", a theme which captures the dreams of the founding fathers of the country and a key to national transformation, but which unfortunately has not been realized in a country afflicted with different forms of violence. Although Northern Nigeria is the focus of this study, it is important to say that currently, almost every region in the country is facing violence as a challenge. In the south there is insecurity due to kidnapping and killing by herdsmen. While in the eastern part, it is the Niger delta militant violence.[23] In Northern Nigeria, violence is more common due to the Boko Haram atrocities and this has become a multi-causal phenomenon. The culture of violence in Northern Nigeria is socialized in the family, educational institutions, the work place, and the media. It is observed that over the years, the search for durable, peaceful co-existence among Northern Nigerians seems elusive because of the Christian/Muslim violent outbreak that has lasted for some four decades. Some of the perpetrators in these conflicts view themselves as serving God in killing people of other faiths. According to Ezekiel, violent conflicts and attacks have become recurrent in the northern region of Nigeria and most especially in some part of Kaduna and Jos metropolitan areas (2015:79).

[23] The Niger Delta region of Nigeria comprises the nine states Abia, AkwaIbom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo and Rivers. About 31 million people live in the region which is renowned as one of the World's Ten most important wetland and coastal marine ecosystems. The Niger Delta is rich with a diverse mosaic of ecological zones, five of which are the Mangrove Forest and Coastal Vegetation Zone, the Fresh Water Swamp Forest Zone, the Lowland Rain Forest Zone, the Derived Savannah Zone and the Montane Zone (Ajodo-Adebanjoko, 2013:11-12). The violence in the Niger Delta first arose in the early 1990s over tensions between foreign oil corporations and a number of the Niger Delta's minority ethnic groups who feel they are being exploited, particularly the Ogoni and the Ijaw. Ethnic and political unrest has continued throughout the 1990s despite the conversion to democracy and the election of the Obasanjo government in 1999. Competition for oil wealth has fuelled violence between ethnic groups, causing the militarization of nearly the entire region by ethnic militia groups, Nigerian military and police forces, notably the Nigerian Mobile Police. The violence has contributed to Nigeria's ongoing energy supply crisis by discouraging foreign investment in new power generation plants in the region.

These violent conflicts have undoubtedly caused enormous socio-developmental setbacks in the Northern Nigerian region. This is exacerbated by the recurrent destruction of lives and property. It is practically difficult to differentiate between an ethnic and religious conflict in this region because the two identities overlap (Ezekiel, 2015:79). Today, killing of humans due to religious, ethnic or political violence is on the increase daily with high impunity (Smith, 2015:13). It may not be far-fetched to argue that religion and religious affiliation are always drawn into clashes of a different nature in order to solicit solidarity from an in-group members because religion and ethnicity are somewhat interwoven in this part of the world (Gwamna, 2010:53).

In Northern Nigeria, through ethnicity, a person's religion is easily identified. This is because religion and ethnicity are closely related to the extent that a threat to religion is a threat to ethnicity. It is well known today that the Fulanis, Hausas are linked to Islam. Other ethnic groups like Kuvori, Binawa, Akurmi, Gure, Tsam, Atyap, Ikulu, Bajju, Ham, Gbagyi, Adara and others in Kaduna state and Birom, Angas, Afizare, Magaful, Rukubas and others in Plateau state are linked to Christianity. When the violent confrontation is between same ethnic groups, church denominational affiliation is dragged into it (Salawu, 2010:345-9).

Just immediately after the advent of the democratic rule that was inaugurated in 1999, the *Sharia* crisis began in 2000, when a few states in the northern region of Nigeria decided to adopt the *Sharia* legal system as the State legal framework. That did not go down well with the Christians and others (Umar, 2013:54). This was because the *Sharia* legal framework will deprive non-Muslims of some rights, freedom and privileges guaranteed by the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Some of the rights that will be endangered include rights to religious education at primary and secondary school levels, freedom of religion and association, right to site a worship centre in government approved areas, and the right to enjoy scholarship for tertiary studies in the Christian religion. The action to adopt the *Sharia* legal system triggered violent reactions from citizens in some parts of the north, Kaduna and Jos included. The violent incidents during *Sharia* riot led to monumental loss of life in some areas within Northern Nigeria and most especially in Kaduna state (Yusuf, 2007:240). However, prior to the launch and open declaration of *Sharia* as a legal system by some states in the current democratic dispensation, there has been public discourse on the functionality of the *Sharia* legal framework in Nigeria. The debate dates back to the first Nigerian constituent assembly, where a draft constitution was refined and ratified (Nguvugher, 2010:224).

Falola, in trying to provide a background to the whole question and debate on the entrenchment of the *Sharia* legal system in the nation-state of Nigeria wrote: "The demand for

Sharia law by many Muslims, which was closely related to the rejection of the secular state, was actually the main ideological issue on which were anchored most other matters. The battle over *Sharia* law has been more intense than that of secularism, it laid the way for the violence of the 1980s" (1998:77). Linking the whole discussion on *Sharia* to the constitutional making of Nigeria, Falola further points out that: "the troubles [that] arose in 1978 have remained a thorn in the side of many. In that year, the Constitution Drafting Committee provided for the establishment of courts of *Sharia* in the drafts it provided to the convention and military government" (1998:77). The proposal stirred chaos and controversy during the Assembly, as most of the Christian delegates and the majority of the moderate Muslims from the western part of Nigeria who were comfortable with the civil law, all saw the inclusion of the *Sharia* law into the constitution as attempted conspiracy towards making Nigeria an Islamic religious state, which should not be the case (Falola, 1998:78). In the last two decades, *Sharia* law is on the frontline of the causes of violence in Northern Nigeria.

After the *Sharia* law conflict in 2000, the "Boko Haram" insurgency emerged, which began terrorizing people since 2009 to the present. This has caused huge casualties resulting in the death of countless numbers of people, wanton destruction of sources of livelihood and monumental human and livestock displacement (Smith, 2015:212; Comolli, 2015: 15). While there are many reasons for violent conflict in Northern Nigeria, in most cases, they are reduced to either religion or ethnic conflicts because these are the most convenient to get support. However, to avoid being accused of being reductionist in its approach to violent conflicts in Northern Nigeria, the study will present other different causes of conflict in Northern Nigeria. Here below are some of the factors that fuel conflict in Northern Nigeria.

2.5.1 The media

The situation in Northern Nigeria is so volatile that violence can sometimes be ignited even by what is not necessarily part of the Northern Nigerian conflict. Media is one of the factors that unintentionally contributes to some of the conflict flares experienced in Northern Nigeria. By reporting things that are happening in the world the media is providing a good service to the world. However, some of the reports bear unintended consequences. Tensions that take place in other parts of the world when reported in Nigeria lead to conflict among inhabitants of Northern Nigeria. For example, conflicts between Muslims and European people or American people can provoke tensions and even open conflict between Muslims and Christians in Northern Nigeria. Unfortunately, sometimes people in Nigeria will identify with conflicting groups overseas and associate local people with the enemies of the group they identify with overseas. Such knowledge comes through media and that makes media to be identified as one

of the factors that can ignite conflict in Nigeria. Sometimes, an incident that took place and is reported by the media in Northern Nigeria may confirm stereotypes that one group holds about the other group and sometimes leading to tensions (Kadala, 2009:78).

If Christians and Muslims are engaged in a conflict somewhere in the world, through media such news reaches Northern Nigeria as well. When such news reaches Northern Nigeria, it is not impossible that such news can trigger "revenge" attacks on the locals on something they are not part of or even do not know about. For example, the issue of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* became an issue of contention in Nigeria. In Kaduna, the researcher's home city, there were marches by Muslims to hand over a letter of protest to the British Consul. A famous author and Nobel laureate, Wole Soyinka, was threatened with death for disagreeing with Ayatollah Khomeini's decision to sentence Rushdie to death. The media is providing the essential service that it is meant to provide and unfortunately, the news of Europe come to Northern Nigeria only to trigger conflict. Kano was embroiled in violence because the United States of America (USA) attacked Afghanistan and so on. The media therefore, whether rightly or wrongly, happens to be counted among the factors that somehow contributes to the conflicts that ensue in Northern Nigeria (Faseke, 2019:6)

The media is another factor that causes or fuels religious, political, economic and ethnic conflict in Northern Nigeria. Through the media, people tend to perceive conflict in one place as part of a conflict in another, causing enmities in one part of the country Nigeria to spill over into other regions. An act of violence in one place is used to confirm the stereotype of the enemy in another place, or even to provoke revenge or reprisals attacks elsewhere in the world. Against this backdrop, therefore, any offensive incident perpetrated against Islam (for an example by any Western country) leads to a backlash on Christians in Northern Nigeria. So also, offensive incidents perpetrated against political parties and ethnic groups often leads to clashes. Triggers of some of these conflicts are neither from Northern Nigeria nor from other parts of Nigeria, but outside the country.

A clear example of this phenomenon under religion was the Danish cartoons which were the trigger of much destruction in many states in Nigeria (Kadala, 2009:78). What have Danish cartoons created by a journalist sitting in the comfort of his office in Denmark, to do with a poor man/woman thousands of miles away in hot Kaduna, Kano or Maiduguri? The media therefore, helps in exacerbating conflicts by giving a biased account of what is happening during conflicts. This could also be seen in the February 2000 *Sharia* riot and the November 2008 conflict in Kaduna and Jos, Plateau State, Nigeria. The British Broadcasting Corporation

(BBC), and Voice of America (VOA) Hausa service were media houses that gave accounts that fuelled the conflict (Kadala, 2009:78).

Again, the media remains one of the important estates in public governance. The public expects the media to provide information and create platforms for open conversation or dialogue on issues affecting the people. One of these issues includes conflict prevention, mitigation and transformation, while in some cases, the media transmission of fake news have escalated violent conflicts. The media are both a friend and a foe to a peace process. The media can foster human security if genuine news are aired but there is also evidence that the media can reinforce motives for fuelling wars especially when news transmitted are inciteful and inflammatory. They can be instruments for peace and conflict management, which promotes messages and strategies that can lead to peaceful agreements and tolerant behaviour in a given society if their news are not biase, offensive or provocative. However, the media can also be a weapon of violence, propagating biased information and manipulating societies or groups in conflict with divisive ideologies and harmful actions (Ezekiel, 2015:91-92). It is observed that some local and international media have been accused of escalating the conflict situation of Kaduna and that of Jos because of their biased and unbalanced reportage on the situation. To this end, media propaganda has been used on several occasions to propagate hatred and destructive prejudices. These actions of the media could be influenced by religiousness and the ethnic affiliation of the reporter, and to some extent, the influence of the proprietors of the media organization (Ezekiel, 2015:92). The media is indeed an antidote to violence if only it rules and regulations and especially its ethics of being neutral are adhered at the time of discharging their duties to the public. The media is to provide and creat platforms that will result to conflict prevention and transformation. The media should be a friend not a foe to any peace process.

2.5.2 Political affiliation

In Northern Nigeria, ethnicity is a social phenomenon that is manifested in interactions among individuals of different ethnic groups. This is within a political system where language and culture are the most prominent attributes. According to Çancı and Odukoya (2013:90), "[t]he formation of dialects within languages was one of the ways in which ethnicity – both small-scale and large-scale – became fixed in Nigeria." Historical events like the Jihad (Holy War) of Usman Dan Fadio, and colonialization have led to the growth and spread of the Hausa/Fulani hegemony in Northern Nigeria. This is why the Hausa/Fulani would always want to rule the country. Example, the president of the country today Muhammadu Buhari is a Hausa/Fulani from the northern part. These two events made this group a very strong force, which has manipulated political and economic power in the north to its advantage.

The Jihad has subjugated independent communities and tribes under the emirates created by it; while on the other hand, colonialism has cobbled together independent communities that have successfully resisted the Jihad but were later subdued by the colonizer under the leadership of the emirs for easy maintenance of indirect rule. Some of these ethnic conflicts are efforts by subjugated communities to free themselves from the age long domination by the Hausa/Fulani. A typical example of this age long struggle is the Zangon Kataf conflict of Kaduna state in May 2002. According to Mavalla (2014:114), since colonialism, the Kataf people have been subjugated under the emir of Zaria, and the emir chose their local rulers or district heads. The Kataf people accused the emir of Zaria of favouring the Hausa settlers in cases of land disputes and also accused him of treating them as slaves in their motherland (Mavalla, 2014:114-116).

Similar cases of minorities trying to gain political freedom from pre-colonial and colonial subjugation exist in the north. For example, the Tafawa Balewa religious – come - ethnic conflicts of Bauchi state, which have persisted for a long time. Kadala (2009:105) points out that the underlying factor of violence in Bauchi state is the Hausa/Fulani attempting to totally subject the Seyawa people of Bauchi state to the scope of their feudal exploitative system. Today, Christians in Northern Nigeria are becoming economically dynamic and powerful. Due to settlers from the south and east, in the north there has been an increase of indigenous Christians who are up and rising to break the Muslim monopoly of the economy. For example, the dry season farming sector is an area where the Hausa/Fulani were in control before, but today indigenes are firmly in control and are doing well (Kadala, 2009:105).

From the foregoing discussion, it has become clear that the hegemony hitherto enjoyed by the Hausa/Fulani of Northern Nigeria has dwindled (Mavalla, 2014:114-116; Afanifowose, 1982:1). The few educated elites among the Hausa/Fulani are afraid because of the precarious position in which they live. The last resort for the Hausa/Fulani who have stagnated for almost two centuries is violence.[24] This underscores the Hausa adage which says “tabarmar kunya, da hauka ake nade ta” which simply means, “the shamed will resort to anything to cover his shame”. Since the culture of Northern Nigeria revered honour and shame,[25] no one will like to

[24] Individual and groups throughout history, have, in one form or another, resorted to violence or its potential use as a tactic of political action. Violence has been used by groups seeking power, by groups holding power, and by the groups in the process of losing power for many decades ago in Nigeria. Also, violence has been pursued in the defence of order by the privileged, in the name of justice by the oppressed, and in the fear of displacement by the threatened (Anifowose, 1982:1).

[25]The concept honour and shame is a compound word that refers to social evaluations of behaviour and the partial loss of dignity or respect in the presence of others by an individual (Bulus, 2017:193). Desilva (2008: 287) elucidate that, “honour refers to the experience of being esteemed by one’s group or other social entities on the basis of embodying that which is deemed desirable, virtuous and socially productive. Shame refers, generally, to the opposite experience of being devalued and belittle on the basis of failing to measure up to transgressing the same.” Invariably, the concept honour goes beyond wealth, while shame provokes a feeling of low esteem on the

be shamed as such violence has become the last resort to Hausa/Fulani group. Therefore, the fact remains that the spates of violence we see in the north today are means through which the Hausa/Fulani are trying to get their grip back on their lost glory.

Christians in Northern Nigeria today are at the crossroads, and are at a loss for what to do. To take revenge or retaliatory action will mean to disobey the fundamental teaching of their role model, Jesus Christ. To remain passive will also mean not caring for their families. The above goes with what the Hausa saying refers to as "tsaka mai wuya" that is to be in confusion, or in a big dilemma. The Muslims appear to be sad about the recurring violent situation in Northern Nigeria through condemning violent behaviours of the citizens. However, on the other hand they are happy with the development because their so-called perceived agenda of Islamizing Nigeria is gradually being executed.

On the other hand, political factors are often responsible for the breaking of peace in Kaduna and Jos by extension, in the northern region of Nigeria. It is commonly said that politics and politicking contributes enormously towards inflaming violence in the area, simply because politics provides access to power (Ezekiel, 2015:83). Therefore, if political matters and systems are misused, abused and manipulated, it will undoubtedly lead to insurrection that will eventually turn violent with inestimable casualties in most cases. The following are the major political conditions that have led to violent reactions and confrontation in Kaduna, Jos and beyond, leading to scores of deaths and massive destruction of lives and property.

i) The turn of the millennium and the current so-called democratic rule in the year 1999 in Nigeria, political representation by the Hausa-Fulani cultural group in Kaduna and Jos Plateau state has been minimal. This is seen even when Hausa-Fulani consider themselves as major stakeholders in the socio-political and economic life of the areas. The group has accused the government, which is mostly by the so-called indigenes, meaning the natives, of election manipulation in favour of particular candidates. Government appointments and employment are partly influenced by ethnic and religious affiliation (Mavalla, 2014:114-116). This was clearly demonstrated during the outright protest by the so-called indigenes who are mostly Christians in rejection of the appointment of a Hausa woman, a Muslim, Hadiza Shuaibu, to be the chairperson of the Chikun Local Government Area (LGA) of Kaduna state in 2017. In Jos, Plateau state, it was the appointment of Muktar Mohammed as local coordinator of one of the Federal government initiatives to mitigate the impact of poverty in late July 2001, and the

wrong doer, regardless of the person's objective status. In honour and shame cultures, mostly in Africa and parts of Asia, people would go to the extent of killing others as a way of revenging the death of their fellow brother just to regain their dignity or the dignity of their ethnic, political or religious group.

appointment of Aminu Mato a Hausa (Muslim) as Chairman of the Caretaker Committee of Jos LGA of Plateau state. The outright protest against the above mentioned appointments later metamorphosed into violent attacks that lasted for days with huge casualties (Ostien, 2009:13; Minchakpu, 2001; 2011:12 and Omotosho, 2003:16).

ii) Another political condition is the imposition of candidates to contest certain political electoral positions by the government and political parties. For example, the ruling party against the popular will of the people, contributed greatly to instigating violence in the area and beyond (Ezekiel, 2015:84). This is most pertinent in Southern Kaduna where political contestation has been high as religious and ethnic affiliations have been used in fueling the process. The ruling political party has been accused of complicity in the imposition and non-adherence to the principles of internal democracy within the party structure and governance framework (Ezekiel, 2015:84).

iii) Again, some government policies suggest exclusion of some groups from active involvement in governance. To further worsen the situation, government infrastructural projects are hardly, not sited or undertaken in some areas that are considered either as strongholds of the opposition or presumed clusters for the non-natives. Such government policies include guidelines for accessing educational scholarships awarded by the State government and other educational and health incentives (Ostien, 2009: 13; 29 and Ezekiel, 2015:84).

iv) Ezekiel (2015:90) attest that another factor that sparked violence in Jos in 2008 for example was the relocation of the local government secretariat. The relocation of an electoral commission office, particularly the vote's collation centre, from their initial locations to other locations, depicts a mischief and hidden agendas. The two government facilities are important in the public affairs and governance of a designated local authority, which functions on behalf of the State and Federal governments being the third tier of government, as stipulated in the Nigeria National Constitution (1999 as amended) by a particular region (Ostien, 2009:31-2 and Krause, 2011:39).

v) Other reasons that causes religious and ethnic violence include tension that are likely to end in violent insurrection. These comprises of certain statements and actions of political leaders that are gratifying and/or tolerant to religious sentiment. It is a common phenomenon that some government officials and prominent political actors who prey on religion are often religionist politics. Such actions make the political space non-neutral and unsafe for those considered to not belong to the so-called religious majority.

vi) In a nutshell, one can say that bad governance and insensitivity on the part of the government is a cause to religious and ethnic violence in Northern Nigeria. Also, the plights of the people is considered a factor that aggravated the violent situation. This do increased the susceptibility and vulnerability of the populace to mischievous actions. The government both at the state and local government levels are accused of maladministration, misappropriation that is embezzlement of public funds and poor budget performance (Ezekiel, 2015:85).

Nguvugher (2010:193) argues that "Today, the scenario is worsening as the ruling elites continue to take cover under religion as a means to their selfish ends. To be able to retain or capture political and economic power, the elite always try to diversify their survival strategies". These are the major socio-political conditions that are strongly shared as contributing to the distortion of peace and peaceful coexistence in Kaduna, Jos and beyond. The perception of violence among residents in Kaduna and Jos concurred with the political factors outlined above. Religion and ethnicity are used not only as a cloak for trying to gain political power but also as a means for trying to gain economic wealth. This is because some politician and individual has and are enjoying the recurrent violent activities in Northern Nigeria and will not want it to end. In essence, the study is making a case that people use religion to "justify" violence or "motivate" violence even though their real motivations are not religious but political and/or economic. Applying the Chronicler's perspective which is basically righteousness as obsereved in the last two chapters of this study, people should stop violence because only God alone has the right to perpetrate violence. People should refrain from favouritism or being partial to be righteous because God is impartial and just.

2.5.3 Economic factors

The quest for economic gain is often a cover for perpetrating violence in Norhern Nigeria. As such, economic policies and resource distribution play a significant role in the life of any society. In this regard, any imbalance or depravation in economic projection and distribution may adversely undermine the well-being of the society, leading to civil strife and citizens' dysfunction. Some of the noticeable economic factors and forces that have led to the disruption of peace and peaceful coexistence in Kaduna, Jos and by extension Northern Nigeria include the following:

i) The disturbing rise in the poverty rate in Northern Nigeria has inadvertently increased the risk of violent reaction and insecurity. The global index report indicates that seventy (70%) per cent of the population in that region lives below one dollar per day, and that less than ten per cent (10%) of the population controls over eighty (80%) per cent of the economy (Krause, 2011:23). The economy itself has been categorically affected by the protracted violent

conflicts within the region. For instance, agricultural, mining activities and tourism are hampered, thereby affecting the income of most residents and families. States like Kaduna and Plateau are commonly described as civil service states, wherein everyone wants to be on the government employment roll, which makes government employment highly politicized (Fwatshak, 2011:5). This will mean that many, even though qualified, may not be employed. Therefore, economic deprivation and joblessness no doubt leads to poverty, which inevitably increases susceptibility to becoming easy tools in fuelling violence at any slight provocation. The political motivations for conflict are also a cloak for economic motivations.

ii) It is observed that the growing population of unemployed and unemployable youths has contributed to the insurrections experienced in Kaduna, Jos and beyond. The jobless youths are easy prey to be used by conflict mongers to foment and cause trouble that often leads to senseless destruction of lives and property. Similarly, the collapse and destruction of some business facilities and premises (shopping malls & main market spaces) which hitherto have served as major enterprises and sources of economic empowerment for many individuals created unrest and despondency, thereby aggravating the worsening condition of the populace.[26] Such situations have undoubtedly contributed immensely to violent conflicts experienced in Northern Nigeria and most especially Kaduna, Jos and their environs.

iii) The unequal access to resources and limited job opportunities is another economic factor to recurrent violence in Northern Nigeria. It is strongly argued by Samuel Kunhiyop (2010:110) that: "economic tension also rises when new resources, hitherto unallocated, are to be distributed, and when the new patterns of distribution create alterations in the existing ranking of individuals." The lack of job opportunities has no doubt played an active role regarding the violent conflicts experienced. This is not a case of gaining employment but a situation of having a job that can give the huge population of jobless youths some means of income. After completing their studies in both primary, secondary and tertiary institutions a lot of youths roam the streets due unemployement. With this situation the youths are easily dragged into violence of any kind either ethnic, religious or political.

iv) One other economic factor to recurrent violence in Northern Nigeria is that when Kaduna and Plateau state governments banned the use of motorcycles for commercial purposes

[26] Economically, one can say that the recurrent violence in Northern Nigeria has caused the region to become backward and underdeveloped. Unemployment has become rampant due to the closure of many factories/industries as a result of violence. Livelihood has become very difficult since a lot of people have lost their properties or jobs. As of today, the rate of poverty is higher in the northern part than in the southern part of the country. In his view, Chiroma (2014:86) submit that "[m]any resources that were meant for development projects have been diverted to relief services and the deployment of security personnel."

(popularly known as *okada*). The action of the government aggrieved the youths and resulted in violent protest in Kaduna and other parts of Northern Nigeria. The use of motorcycles (motorbikes) for commercial purposes has been a common means of income for a number of households in the region. It got worse when proper arrangements for alternatives were not made by government to cushion the anticipated negative impact of the ban. This thereby forced the youth to resort to violence, protesting the actions of government and insensitivity to their plights (Krause, 2011:26).

From the above one can say that it is indisputable that poverty or economic disorder has profound effects on the peace of any human society (Ezekiel, 2015: 87). Poverty and economic dislocation have contributed heavily to the violent conflicts experienced in Kaduna, Jos and beyond. Poverty dehumanizes and also takes away the dignity of the human person. Worse of all, it makes the human person susceptible to commit crime and be turned into a tool for violence. Legitimate acquition of wealth is helpful for peace building in Northern Nigeria.

2.5.4 Socio-cultural factors

In respect to socio-cultural factors, the study will focus exclusively on social and cultural nuances that influence the moral and ethical behaviours and dispositions of the people in Northern Nigeria. Example is Kaduna, Jos and its environs that precipitate or trigger violent conflicts, which lead to disruption of peace in those areas. The use of socio-cultural construction to represent the two dimensions of human interaction and engagement, was informed by the understanding that they intersect because of the interrelated features of the two, especially when in an effort to describe human behaviour and actions. It was on this premise that the two nuances were integrated to form the singular notion of socio-cultural as a cluster to be interrogated, with a view to outline related actions or behaviours that have militated against peace and peaceful coexistence in Kaduna, Jos and its environs. Below are some of the main causal factors connected with the broad socio-cultural cluster that have negatively impacted on the tranquillity previously enjoyed in Kaduna and Jos of Northhern Nigeria.

i) Some ethnic groups such as the Hausa/Fulani ethno-cultural group in Kaduna and Jos believed that there is a hidden agenda of ethnic cleansing against them. To them, the so-called natives as evident in the actions of some host communities, as they alleged that the natives who are mostly Christians are targeting them for elimination. They cited incidences of silent attacks, hijacks and killing. They often report missing individuals and such individuals were never found. Such allegations have aggravated the suspicions and continuously increased the negative tensions in the area. This situation has continued to make Kaduna and Jos a crisis flashpoints or hot spots zones (Ezekiel, 2015:90; Best, 2007).

ii) Another socio-cultural factor to recurrent violence in Northern Nigeria is the level of excessive alcohol consumption and substance abuse among youngsters within the region. This has contributed to the rupturing of peace in the Kaduna and Jos areas. These youngsters that engage in excess alcohol intake and substance abuse become violent at the slightest provocation because most of them are redundant due to joblessness. Such conditions have heightened criminality and increased the index of criminal activities in Kaduna, Jos and its environs (Ezekiel, 2015:90 and Best, 2007).

iii) One can say that the tireless contest on the ownership of Kaduna and Jos remains a major trigger of violence in those areas. For example, the Hausa-Fulani descendants who have lived in Jos for decades have also claimed that their cultural identity, known as Jasawa, provided the foundation for the name "Jos". This in a way suggests that they (Jasawa) are the real owners, while the so-called natives, namely; Berom, Anaguta and Afizere claimed to have been in the area Gwash, which has metamorphosed to Jos because the colonialists could not pronounce Gwash. So also in Kaduna, especially Zangon Kataf. The Hausa-Fulani claimed that their descendants who lived in Zango claimed that their cultural identity, known as "Katambiri", provided the foundation for the name "Zangon Kataf". They argue that their existence in the said areas remains dateless.

The contestation of who owns Kaduna and Jos has aggravated the situation of intolerance for the "other". Some view the "other" as a threat that is ready to combat and extinguish their existence in the land given to them by God (Best, 2007:17; Dung-Gwom & Rikkon, 2009:6; & Krause, 2011:24-6). The colonial authorities compounded the situation with the form of indirect rule that was adopted in the northern region of Nigeria. The colonizers legitimized the emirate-ship that has been in place by giving the emirs extended boundaries. It was on that ground that the emir of Bauchi installed a chief (king) in Jos, called "Sarkin Jos" (Best, 2007:18-19, 50-1; & Krause, 2011:24). This mind-set of proving who the original owners or natives of Jos or Zangon Kataf are continually nursed among the people, thereby making the Jos, Kaduna Zangon Kataf areas prone to violence.

iv) The recent multiplication or proliferation of small, light and sophisticated arms and ammunitions in Kaduna and its environs is a factor to the recurrent insurrection within the region. It was amazing to discover the weapons that were confiscated by the security operatives from individuals and the massive destruction that was effected during the violent confrontations that took place in Kaduna, Jos and environs. The magnitude of destruction made during the crises suggested the use of serious weapons (Higazi, 2008:2-4). All of these scenarios point to the fact that many people are in possession of weapons ready for use should violence erupt.

Some refer to their guns as pesticides to be used for killing "mosquitoes", that is people of a different faith than their own. When people are in possession of weapons, small, light or heavy, this increases the susceptibility of the area to violence, as people are tempted to try the weapons. This was also evident in the use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) to attack innocent poor masses in worship centres and market places (Higazi, 2008:3-4 and Ezekiel, 2015:91).

v) One can also say that the continuous polarisation of Kaduna, Jos and its environs along religious and cultural lines has the potential of triggering violence within the region. This mindset has make some places to be known as 'No Go Areas' especially for people of other religious affinities and cultural leanings. This scenario has a propensity to pose a grave danger for such areas. To worsen the segregation that has and is taking place in Kaduna, there is the separation of market-places. Such a situation has devastating effects on the cosmopolitan outlook of Kaduna and also increased the vulnerability of the area to targeted attacks (African Report, 2012:19).

Reacting to the social effect of violence in Northern Nigeria, Gwamna (2010) asserts that various violent crisis in the nation has left negative imprints on the Nigeria's body polity.[27] He further states that, when violence crisis becomes more intense, people relocated to what they consider "Safe areas". In his observation, "this relocation is based on ethnic and religious borderlines, which have serious security implications in the near future". In this quest, this could imply that the battle lines have been drawn for future occurrences.

In Kaduna and Jos, one can see that major cities are partnered along with Christians-Muslim. In Kaduna metropolis for an example, Christians are predominantly in areas across the river Kaduna Bridge like Barnawa, Kakuri, Television, Sabontasha, Gonin Gora, Romi, Narayi, Karji, and Anguwan Maigero. Others areas are Kamazou-Janruwa, Mararaban Rido and Kujama. While Muslims predominantly reside in areas before the bridge like Tudun Wada, Unguwan Muazu, Rigasa, Unguwan Rimi, Unguwan Sarki, Kawo and Rigachikun. Similarly, in Jos metroplois, Muslims inhabit Angwan Rogo, Bauchi Road and Gangare, while Christians predominate in Jenta Adamu, kabong, Angwan Rukuba, and Tudu-Wada.[28]

Gwanna (2010) decried the present state of things within the Northern part of Nigeria, and that the social aspects of life which combine the two great religions (Islam and Christianity) within a single environment is gradually becoming a mirage. The restructuring of cities in the Kaduna

[27] This is a comment by DogaraGwamna. *Religious and politics in Nigeria* (Bukuru: Acts, 2010), 11.
[28]Ibid. 11.

and Jos based on ethnic and religious statements in the name of 'safe zone' has hampered social activities such as inter marriages, worship and sports. It also hampers and limits bilateral and diplomatic relationships within the region. It creates movement of people leading to mass destruction of assets and property. Human life which is considered valuable and sacred is often hunted, maimed and killed like wild animals as a result of violent activities which are mostly politically motivated.[29]

The study of Joshua and Chronicles in chapter five of this research can be applied in Northern Nigeria to help reduce violence and promote better conflict prevention. This is possible because in Northern Nigeria, some people kill and claim that God justified it as found in Joshua where God commanded the Israelites to kill the Canaanites and take their land. In this regard, one can say like Claassens (2015: xix), "[t]he bible is a dangerous book".[30] This is to say that any irresponsible interpretation or translation of the scripture makes the Bible to become a dangerous book. When people read the Bible irresponsibly, they surely behave irresponsibly. As such, the ideology "we are a chosen people" makes some people to justify the killing of others. Also, to some people it is okay to kill someone because the person does not worship Jesus or Allah, in the case of Christians and Muslims respectively. The reading of Chronicles will help one with a different story of Joshua that is peaceful and not violent in nature. In Joshua, the whole of Israel went into violence, killing and destroying everything in Jericho. This violence was commanded by God and it is referred as divine violence (Seibert, 2016:13).

vi) The deeply rooted prejudices by some tribes within the fringes of Northern Nigeria are against some migrant ethnic groups. Ostien (2009:2) argues that: "the conflict situation in Jos arises primarily out of ethnic difference, opposing Hausa "settlers" vs. the Plateau "indigene" tribes of Afizere, Anaguta and Berom." These prejudices led to constitutional debate on indigene-ship/settler-ship questions. It is a common expression among residents, where the so-called natives see non-natives as settlers regardless of their long, historic occupation of the region and regard them as not entitled to the same basic privileges as their native counterparts (Krause, 2011:26, Ezekiel, 2015:92).

[29]This is a contribution from Aver, Tyavwas, Theophilus, Nnorom, Kingsley, C and Targba, Aondowase, regarding "political Violence and its Effects on social Development in Nigeria" found in international journal of humanities and social science Vol. 3 No. 17; September 2013.

[30] The bible is Holy and a good book. It is "inspired by God and is useful for teaching, for reproof, correction, and for training in righteousness, so that everyone who belongs to God may be proficient, equipped for every good work" (2 Timothy 3:16-17). In spite of this, the way people read, interpret and applied the bible makes the bible a good or dangerous book. When the teaching of the bible is applied correctly, the bible becomes a good book, but it is wrongly applied it becomes a dangerous book. Like in this study, some Christians and Muslims used their holy books' teachings or injuctions to perpetrate or defeat violence. Succintly, the bible is a dangerous/good book depending on how one reads, interprets and applied.

vii) Of a great concern and to further deepen the animosity, rage and anger is the decision that was taken by the government to introduce residence certificates to so-called settlers. This action is in contrast to the issuance of indigene-ship certificates, which have been the practice most probably because of their religious and cultural heritage in recent times (Ezekiel, 2015:93). The above outlined socio-cultural factors have contributed immensely in fuelling violent conflicts in Kaduna, Jos and its environs and by extension, triggered reprisal attacks in other parts of the country.

2.5.5 Ecological factors

In Northern Nigeria and globally, ecological factors to a large extend have threatened human peace and security. Kaduna and Jos are not an exception. Best (2009:239) argues that "the rising temperature of the planet represents a common crisis to humanity, hence a threat to security and peace..." The cumulative effects represent a threat to the survival of humanity in general. Agricultural conditions, hence food production will be affected. However, the manifestation of environmental factors may vary from one location to the other. The Kaduna and Jos areas have their own peculiarities with ecological (environmental) challenges that adversely affects the peace and peaceful coexistence of its residents. There are four (4) main conditions that are linked to ecological factors that have the propensity to trigger violent clashes in Kaduna, Jos and its environs. This include the following:

i) The decrease in forest areas (deforestation) across Northern Nigeria has ceaselessly made agrarian lands unproductive. The situation thereby compell migration from one place to another in search of fertile land for agricultural production. This is in search for food production and commercial purposes. Unfortunately, lands that are to be used for agricultural production are being used for real estate businesses and other non-agricultural activities. With such prevailing phenomena, food production is hampered and food products are inadequate. Hunger increases and when the people are hungry, they become violent in their behaviours. This situation no doubt increases the risks of Kaduna and Jos to crisis (Ezekiel, 2015: 93, Dung-gwom and Rikko 2009:5-6).

ii) Severe or the drastic change in the climatic condition forces people to move to regions where there is a more conducive climate or weather. Kaduna and Jos happen to be places in Nigeria with friendly weather that is not too harsh on human kind and animals. With such a climatic condition, it becomes a centre of attraction for all classes of human socialization. During such movements, the Kaduna, Jos and its inhabitants feel threatened, especially the so-called indigenes; as a result, they become hostile to strangers wanting to take refuge in Kaduna or Jos (Krause 2011:25; Ezekiel, 2015:93).

iii) Activities such as the grazing of animals by the Fulani cattle herdsmen as an example have been considered as one environmental factor that has instigated violent confrontations between the native farmers. It has been alleged that farms that have been cultivated with fresh growing crops have been grazed by cattle being reared at odd seasons when the farmers are not there to protect their farms. Cattle herdsmen are being viewed as enemies by the farmers. Such actions have resulted in violent clashes between the cattle herdsmen, who are mostly Muslims, and the farmers who are predominantly Christians. To further worsen the situation, some farmlands are being converted into cattle reserve routes with no or little compensation given to the farmers. Such action also angers the farmers, thereby leading to violent clashes (Krause, 2011:27; Ezekiel, 2015:94). Of recent the government of Nigeria has tried to introduced cattle colony or ranches but it was not accepted by the general public of the country.

iv) The present challenge of land confiscation as of 2015 to the time of writing this study by government for a Fulani colony, without adequate compensation, has triggered violent actions by residents of Kaduna, Jos and environs. To further worsen the situation, lands that are to be used for agricultural purposes are being used for real estate businesses. One can also say that the undue boundary adjustments and inadequate lands for agricultural practices due to growing urbanisation contributes in triggering violence. This action have contributed and as well increased rural/urban drift to a very large extent to the tensions being experienced in Kaduna and Jos (Dung-Gwom and Rikko, 2009:9; Ezekiel, 2015:94).

Some of the conflicts which were referred to as religious, in essence, were caused by reasons other than religion; competition for economic resources, for example. The concepts of “jihad” for Muslims and “holy war” for Christians became familiar expressions. Since religion and ethnic identities are intertwined, whether one deals with an ethnic conflict or a religious conflict, the Scriptures are relevant both for the conflicting parties and the observer who tries to make sense of the situation.

2.6. Politics, Diplomacy and Religion in Nigeria

The discussion thus far has examined the historical context of Nigeria in general, the socio-cultural context of Northern Nigeria in particular, a brief history of Northern Nigeria in particular and an overview of the conflict trends in Northern Nigeria in particular. This section returns to Nigeria in general. This move, from a logical arrangement point of view, might seem to be unsystematic. However, the study attaches special significance to the happenings to be related in this section. The study treats what is to be discussed here as a parallel factor to the local factors of the conflict in Northern Nigeria. The study reckons that this discussion can make more sense after the discussion of the local factors in Northern Nigeria. In this section,

we will examine how federal politics and diplomacy on the one hand, and religion on the other, influence local regions in Nigeria, particularly Northern Nigeria. The specific diplomatic issue this section will examine is the Nigerian membership of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC).

This discussion of the membership of Nigeria in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is inspired by Babajimi Oladipo Faseke's paper (2019). Faseke traces the relationship of Nigeria with the OIC from Nigeria's observer status to full active membership. Relevant for our discussion is the debate that surrounded Nigeria's full membership. This debate demonstrates the impact of religion on debates of national interest. According to Faseke, in 1969, a delegation of Nigerian Muslims, in their "private" capacity, attended a conference which laid the foundation of the formation of the OIC in Rabat and pledged the support of the country's Muslim population towards the solidarity it envisaged. However, such "private" participation was not discouraged to an extent that delegates kept attending OIC meetings as "observers". This later resulted in Nigeria being recognised as having an "observer-status" within the OIC. On 31 December 1983, the civilian government of Alhaji Shehu Shagari was ousted by Major-General Muhammadu Buhari and the situation slightly changed. Buhari, who was already a devout Muslim, was lobbied by powerful Muslim groups in the northern and southwestern part of the country for Nigeria to become an active member in the OIC. At this point, Faseke makes a profound contextual remark that has significant implications for diplomatic decision-making when he says:

> Many Arab governments also mounted pressure on the new government to yield to this request, promising economic and financial assistance to the country should it become a full member of the organization. Such promises became particularly tempting in the face of a stalemate in the country's $2 billion loan negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The stalemate also led to the blockage of lines of credit to the country by Western banks and the withdrawal by Western export credit guarantee agencies of insurance cover on exports destined for Nigeria. These conditions had naturally caused inflation and economic hardship in the country (2019:4).

In this situation, Buhari who is now the current president (2015 to date) then was faced with a choice between upholding Nigeria's secular posture as provided in the 1979 constitution. This was to accept financial assistance to alleviate the country's financial/economic crisis. However, before the Buhari administration then could implement its stance on the issue, it was ousted by

a coup d'etat by Gen. Ibrahim Babangida on 27 August 1985. During Babangida's tenure, the pressure continued as Faseke tells:

> The OIC saga did not end with Buhari's ouster. Indeed, the new administration of General Babangida continued to be lobbied by pro-OIC groups. Their argument remained ever persuasive in the face of incessant economic problems and the hard stance of Western financial institutions like the IMF in issuing assistance. This warranted Nigeria seeking potent alternatives to these Western financiers in kick-starting the country's economic recovery (2019:4).

The Babangida administration ultimately capitulated and in January 1986 Nigeria became a full member of OIC. Referencing Bolaji Akinyemi, Faseke notes that since then, "religion became a tendentious issue in Nigerian politics" (2019:4). This latter remark interests this study. Nigeria's admission as a full member of OIC was secretly carried out but the national French news agency revealed the news to Nigerians. Faseke notes that this incident, for some Christians, was a confirmation of their longstanding suspicion that "there was a secret plan for the Islamization of Nigeria" (2019:5). The consequences are stated as follows:

> The immediate fallout of Nigeria's full membership of the OIC was that it deeply divided the country along religious lines. Both Christians and Muslims anchored their opposition and support on the interpretation of the secular status of the country. Christians demanded an immediate withdrawal from the organization because the 1979 constitution clearly makes the nation a secular one. Muslims, on the other hand, argued that the secular posture of the country had not been violated in any respect since the country was not adopting Islam as a state religion (Faseke, 2019:5).

An intense debate ensued with the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), calling for Nigeria's total and unconditional withdrawal from the OIC. *Jama'atu Nasir Islam* (JNI), the Muslim community's umbrella body, on the other hand, argued that "if Nigeria withdraws from the OIC, it will have to withdraw diplomatic relations with the Vatican" (Faseke 2019:5). The debate continued, each side justifying its stand-point. Having become clear that the debate was heated, the Babangida administration, created a committee to evaluate the issue. The twenty-man committee was headed by a Christian from the north-central region of the country, Lt. Col. John Shagaya. This committee therefore, will be referred to as the Shagaya Committee. Commenting on this committee, Faseke remarks as follows: "If the composition was gender insensitive, it certainly had a religious balance with both Muslims and Christians having ten

representatives each" (2019:6). The government also released an official rationale to the public for joining the OIC that was based on both economic and political factors. The rationale was as follows:

> The Babangida administration sought to salvage the country's economy through the accessibility of interest-free loans that the IDB [Islamic Development Bank], one of the associated institutions of the OIC, provided. As at December 1979, the IDB had approved $943.32 million in interest-free loans that covered 114 projects in 30 member countries of the OIC. In a political sense, the head of state also considered the organization as one that will allow Nigeria to rally against racism and colonialism. He cited as evidence the fact that apart from Turkey, all OIC members also belonged to the Non-Aligned Movement. Additionally, many of the nation's neighbors that were members of the Organisation of African Union OAU were also members of the OIC. Therefore, the organization, he argued, was a platform for members of the Third World countries to seek cooperation between themselves (2019:6).

The rationale was not accepted without some suspicion. While the rationale made sense, that Babangida courted the powerful Muslim constituency for his own good was not ruled out either. Because he was not viewed as a good Muslim by many Muslims, such an act would improve his image. This demonstrates the deep-rootedness of mistrust among the different religious stakeholders. Further mistrust was demonstrated in the report of the Shagaya Committee. The report of the committee was not unanimous as both sides held on to two diametrically opposed positions (Faseke 2019: 6). The most concrete recommendation of the committee was the identification of a need for inter-religious cooperation the formation of a body to foster it. In response, Babangida made the committee permanent and called it the Advisory Council on Religious Affairs' (ACRA). Although the members increased, it primarily consisted of the same original members. Some members of the panel, from both the Christian and the Muslim sides, formed sub-committees with their constituencies to advise the panellists on the stances they should take during the panel deliberations. This has two implications for the study. Firstly, there was no intention for a compromise. Secondly, the debates were being trickled down to lower structures, and thus fanning the religious polemics below.

The Babangida administration adopted a strategy of being mute on the matter, letting sleeping dogs lie. As time progressed, the strategy seemed to work, for "the fervor with which the matter was taken seemed to wane by the following year" (Faseke, 2019:6). Throughout the Babangida administration, the debate subsided. It would only be revisited when there were global

happenings that affected the OIC, and by extension, Nigeria. For example, the publication of the highly controversial book of Salman Rushdie, *The Satanic Verses*, which was considered an apostasy by the larger percentage of Muslims globally, divided the IOC. Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini "advocated for Rushdie's death and total boycott of the West that allowed the publication of such a book". Saudi Arabian prince, Saud Al-Faisal "maintained a moderate position that, while the book and the publishers be banned from all OIC member countries, the call for Rushdie's head be dropped" (2019:7). Because the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs that represented Nigeria at the meeting voted on the side of Ayatollah Khomeini, the question of Nigeria's membership in the OIC was revisited. However, in general, the quietness of the government on the activities of Nigeria at the OIC also calmed down the debate.

Furthermore, with other pressing political issues emerging to attract the attention of the Nigerians, the Nigerian membership of the OIC remained dormant. "By the time Babangida left the seat of power on 27 August 1993, the status of Nigeria's membership had been hazy" (Faseke 2019:7). During the era of General Sani Abacha the issue was quiet. However, a month before General Abacha passed on, the OIC debate resurfaced when the Sultan of Sokoto, coming from an OIC meeting in Iran, indicated the renewal of Nigeria's full OIC membership to the members of the JNI. Immediately, some Christian groups responded by showing agitation against that. In the process, the OIC also underwent substantial restructuring. In 2001, the OIC introduced reforms which "entailed, among other things, a revised charter set out to promote human rights that was no longer defined solely on Islamic terms". Such a gesture led to the belief that the OIC was now more of a political institution not based on Islamic solidarity alone (Faseke, 2019:7).

Right through the eras of General Abdulsalami Abubakar, President Olusegun Obasanjo, a substantive Christian leader after twenty years and President Goodluck Jonathan, "who was not only a Christian, but also a native of a region that is predominantly Christian", the OIC membership was not tempered with. "Up till 2012, there were pockets of agitation against Nigeria's membership of OIC from Christian clerics in particular. But, in general, such resistance has waned and reality seems to have set in that Nigeria's full membership status is permanent for the foreseeable future" (Faseke 2019:8). This discussion is not about the legitimacy or illegitimacy of Nigeria's membership of the OIC, or which religious group is on the right or wrong side. If a need arises, that can be addressed in a different study.

The aim of this study, in this particular discussion, is to demonstrate how religious differences in Nigeria can play out on issues of national importance. The OIC membership is just one

example of many other issues that can unfold in the same manner. This exercise is also significant in that it also indicates that religious conflict can be instigated even from outside of Northern Nigerian borders, for a polemical debate of this nature is very highly likely to trickle down to localities. In the discussion it was indicated that those participating in national panels do go to their respective constituencies for stances to uphold, which can blow the debate out of proportion. Of importance as well, religious differences can lead to ethnic conflict too. This means, a national debate divided by religious differences can lead to local ethnic conflict. This is the context in which Northern Nigeria is situated. Taking the regional atmosphere that was outlined above and this national atmosphere into consideration, it becomes clear that ethnic/religious conflict in Northern Nigeria is a serious business. To conclude this discussion, let us conclude it with Faseke's conclusion:

> The point to be made is that, in the interest of Nigeria's nationhood, the OIC should either be embraced by all or be rejected by every; and the parameter for deciding which way to go should be the altruism of the organization. A situation where it is embraced by a particular constituency and rejected by the other is dangerous for the nation's continued existence (2019:11).

What this conclusion essentially means is that, if only these polarised religions could find a common ground between them. It is there, only if they could find it. Only if they could look beyond themselves and look for what is in the interests of all of them. At this note, let us move on to investigate what Bible readers make of this situation.

2.7 The Bible and Violence in Northern Nigeria

In an article titled *Violent Crime as Old as the Bible: Boko Haram Uses Rape as a Weapon of War*, Helen Gavin writes: "Sexual violence is often used as a weapon in conflict, as a military or terrorist tactic. There are references to it in the Bible's Old Testament as either a reward to the victors or as a punishment to the men of the vanquished nation" (2015:2). The title of the section under which this statement is made is: "*Shameful Weapon*". She is not a biblical scholar but a psychologist. However, the statement she makes can go a long way to provide justification for heinous deeds against vulnerable women during military operations. This statement can influence a lot of people in committing heinous acts against other people. What she says, of course, is true. Unfortunately, she does not refer to any texts but refer to the Old Testament in general. What makes the statement even more significant is that she makes it in the context of Boko Haram. Actually, Gavin's view is a view of many people. This is just one example of how the Bible can be used to make sense of the Northern Nigerian crisis.

Another interesting paper is by Gwamna Dogara Je'Adayibe (2018). His paper is titled *A Christian Response to Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria*. He argues that Christians need to respond to *Boko Haram* from a biblical and theological viewpoint informed by references to Christian persecution and trials in church history (2018:42). He views the attacks of *Boko Haram* as religiously motivated and the Christians as prime victims of *Boko Haram*'s hostility. He does not view this carnage in isolation but places it within a long trajectory of an onslaught on Christianity which can be traced from biblical times. In an unsubstantiated etiological expression, he explains the persecution of early Christians as a historical legacy of the persecution of pre-Christian Israelites. To justify his perception he states as follows:

> E. M. B Green has shown that Christians inherited martyrdom from the Jewish heritage which dominated its outlook in the Seleucid struggle of the intertestamental years. 4 Maccabees 17:8 refers to this: "But I can demonstrate it best from the noble bravery of those who died for the sake of virtue, the Eleazar and the seven brothers and their mother." (2018:38).

From this point of departure, he views the *Boko Haram* attacks on Christians in Northern Nigeria as a sequel in a longstanding historical trajectory of Christian persecution on earth. Relating the history, he says:

> Christians have experienced persecution since the beginning of Christianity. Christians were subjected to all forms of trials and persecution from the brutal Roman emperors such as Nero, Claudius, Domitian, Diocletian, and Hadrian (2018:37).

Within this line of argument, he views the New Testament responses to Christian persecution as a helpful resource to deal with *Boko Haram* attacks, hence the proposition that "Christians need to respond to *Boko Haram* from a biblical and theological viewpoint informed by references to Christian persecution and trials in church history" (2018:42). Against this background, he refers to some New Testament texts as follows:

> The Bible provides several hints that can help us in responding to Christian persecution today, and which provides insight to Nigerian Christians in dealing with Boko Haram. Jesus spoke about persecution to his disciples before the week of his passion. In John 15:20b, Jesus said, "If they persecuted me, they will persecute you also." Also, in Matthew 10:22: "All men will hate you because of me, but he who stands firm to the end will be saved." And in John 16:2: "They will put you out of the synagogue, in fact, a time is coming when anyone who kills you will think he is offering a service to God."

> It could be said that Jesus' words have not only been fulfilled, as Christians have not only been chased out of their synagogues, (in our own case, churches) but churches have been burnt, and Christians killed by the *Boko Haram* Islamic insurgents and other similar persecutors of Christians who believe that they are on God's assignment and they await eternal reward in the hereafter. Paul re-emphasises Jesus' words in 2 Timothy 3: 12: "In fact, everyone who wants to live a godly life in Christ Jesus will be persecuted" (2018:44-45).

Having developed his argument as expressed above, he advocates a theology of forgiveness, peace and reconciliation. His biblical and theological response to the *Boko Haram* attacks is therefore as follows:

> It is clear from the scriptures cited above that the Bible expects Christians to face persecution and trials, bless those who persecute them, and endure persecution, as God will punish the persecutors. In fact, Christians are expected to respond in certain ways to their enemies and those who want to exterminate them. They are contained in biblical exhortations on forgiveness, peace and reconciliation. Isaiah 32: 17-18 says, "The fruit of righteousness will be peace, the effect of righteousness and confidence forever. My people will live in peaceful dwelling places, in secure homes, undisturbed places of rest." Isaiah saw the Messiah (fulfllled in Jesus Christ) as the "prince of peace" (Isaiah 9:6). Jesus told his disciples in the Sermon on the Mount, "Blessed are the peace makers for they shall see God" (Matthew 5:9). And, Jesus said that what he was leaving with the disciples was peace (John 14:27) (2018:45).

Je'Adayibe is not supportive of retaliation. Expressing some discomfort about a Christian radical group known as *Akhwat Akwop* in Southern Kaduna State, which emerged to counter *Boko Haram* activities, he indicates that Christian attempts to use the sword, as evidenced in the Crusaders, tainted the image of Christianity. He thus views the calls for retaliation in this light. This should suffice to give a clearer picture of the perspective entailed in this argument. This part of our discussion is interested in different uses of the Bible in dealing with the violence in Northern Nigeria. It seems, Je'Adayibe's perspective is not an isolated perspective on the use of the Bible in the midst of ethnic/religious violence. A paper with a similar perspective was published in the same year as Je'Adayibe's by Chidi Ekpendu Ikechi and Zinas Filibus Gugu (2019). To capture the overall message of this paper, the following precepts are combined to provide the general message of this paper:

> Previous scholars have suggested retaliation by guns, self-defence, getting more security personnel, using traditional rulers. Though much have also been said on effect of these attacks on economy, agriculture, culture, politics and ethnicity but little or nothing have been done to consider the biblical solution offered by Matthew 5:43-46. There appear to be negligence or refusal to the understanding and practice of Matthew 5:43-46…… (2019:100) the study shows the implication of Mathew 5:43-46 … it showed that prayer and keep loving them according Mathew 5:43-46 is the only key to solve this problem of attack in Kafanchan even-though their attack had done a lot of havoc to the church and church administration. Still, Christian should love his enemy, forgive his enemy, preach to his enemy, pray and work towards his enemy salvation because paying evil for evil is not part of Christianity but love our enemies as our self (2019:110).

This perspective clearly advocates letting everything into the hands of YHWH and stoically endure whatever brutality comes the way of devote Christians. However, there are other perspectives on how to use the Bible in the midst of violent attacks.

A different approach is by Paul Danbaki Jatau (2019) in a paper titled *Contextual Reading of the Bible in the Light of New Evangelization in Northern Nigeria*, which is also published in the same year as above two papers. Although Jatau's paper promises to examine Psalm 137 and apply it to the context of Northern Nigeria, a huge percentage of the discussion is about the relationship of the Bible with one's social context. However, the interest of the paper is on his view on the Bible and the context of violence in Northern Nigeria. Describing the motivation of his paper, Jatau states as follows:

> The most fundamental discussion about the relationship between the Bible and politics results from how humanity has reached a point where problems such as Boko Haram, terrorists‟ attacks, oppression, violence, poverty, and HIV/AIDS threaten our survival. Hence, this paper attempts to carry out a contextual reading of the Bible to see how a historical record entailing socioeconomic, religious and political affairs that tell of the relationship between Yahweh and the people of Israel can be appreciated and appropriated by Christians in Northern Nigeria (2019:17).

Jatau, inspired by South American theologians, advocates a liberation approach in response to one's context. Showing appreciation of an idea that the Bible is a tool in the struggle for the liberation of the poor and exploited, he says:

> In our context, the essential restlessness of the Southern Kaduna people as one of the dispossessed group is based on their demand for liberation which is precisely an echo of the biblical voice of the poor as shown in Exodus 2:23-25 and Psalm 137:1-4 (2019:23).

According to Jatau, the commitment to discerning God from the perspective of the poor or marginalized will result in a commitment to change the conditions which maintain poverty and powerlessness of the Southern Kaduna. For Jatau, the latter commitment is real obedience to Scripture. Definitely, Jatau hails from a different interpretive tradition.

Another interpretive perspective is by Matthews A Ojo. Ojo traces the trajectory of the competition between the Pentecostals and the Muslims for public space in Northern Nigeria. What makes Ojo's presentation more interesting is reference to the Gospel of Matthew, which seems to be the rallying point for the inaction towards Islamic hostility in the papers above. According Ojo:

> In response, Christian attitudes to Islamic aggression changed. Before 1988, Pentecostals in particular had concentrated on their prayer activities each time they came under attack, hoping for supernatural intervention in the face of the Islamic offensive. In addition, Northern Nigerian Christians had kept faith with the biblical injunction to non-retaliation in the face of aggression, as found in Jesus' teaching in Matthew 5.38–41. This approach did not work in the context of Islamic fundamentalism because Muslims became more daring and violent against Christians. However, from mid-1988, Christians began to employ retaliatory, militant and violent responses and to inflict damage on the Muslim attackers. This eventually changed the nature of Muslim attacks, causing them to take account of possible retaliation by Christians (2007:182).

Although this is the only reference to the Bible in this article, its contribution to this discussion is important in that it spells out more clearly the polemical ideological stances of the Christians and the Muslims in their contest for influencing the public sphere. Although the Muslims seem to be in a more advantageous positions, the Christians are not folding their arms. This exposition leads our discussion to the next phase of the discussion. According to Ojo, charismatics and Pentecostals did not support any political ideology or party, they instead supported and strengthened individual politicians to expand Christian influence in the competitive multi-religious society. Christians holding fundamental religious views evoked the image of a good God and a bad government signalled the activity of evil forces to make Christians suffer. "Consequently, the Pentecostal and charismatic movements created a new theological and

ideological discourse by bringing the concept of evil and spiritual warfare onto the political agenda, and thus consolidating new forms of religious expression and political understanding", he concludes (2007:186). A description of the scenario provides a picture of the state of affairs from the Christian side:

> As Christian–Muslim relations deteriorated following the religious and political crises, religious discourses among Pentecostals increasingly depicted Islam as an enemy, or in satanic metaphors. Such expression as 'the religion of the bondwoman', 'the religion of force and violence', 'the slaves', 'the spirit of anti-Christ', etc. became prominent terms used widely by Pentecostals to describe Islam. The introduction of Shari'a in certain Northern states from 1999 presaged a call for serious prayers to wage war against the anti-Christ, for national unity and the preservation of religious freedom. In fact, Christian evangelization was intensified as Islam was increasingly seen as part of the area of darkness that must be dispelled by the Gospel. Pentecostal spiritual warfare was not only fought against demons, both real and imagined, but was equally against sectarian religion and against Islam (2007:186).

While the intensification of the negativity among the Pentecostals was aggravated by the aggression of the Muslims, they however, did have their prejudices about them. This takes us to a discussion about religion and the Bible as part of our discussion on the Bible and violence in Northern Nigeria.

Let us now revisit some of the remarks which were made by the papers we have already discussed. Jatau, in his discussion of the Bible and politics, remarked that some people do not want to associate the Bible with politics. Elaborating on that, he stated as follows:

> Such people often forget that political divisions throughout the world are often exacerbated by religious divisions as evidenced in calls for holy wars where one religion, often from one sense of choosiness, label other people as "infidels", "heathen", and "pagans". Such acts are sometimes justified by Holy Scriptures, including the Bible (Jatau, 2019:19).

What Jatau actually does is to reveal that religions, whatever religion, do have their prejudices about other religions. Affirming this assertion by Jatau on the side of the Pentecostals, Ojo said:

> The introduction of Shari'a in certain Northern states from 1999 presaged a call for serious prayers to wage war against the anti-Christ, for national unity and the

> preservation of religious freedom. In fact, Christian evangelization was intensified as Islam was increasingly seen as part of the area of darkness that must be dispelled by the Gospel. Pentecostal spiritual warfare was not only fought against demons, both real and imagined, but was equally against sectarian religion and against Islam (Ojo, 2007:186).

The term anti-Christ is quite a derogatory term. To view Muslims as anti-Christ is a sign of non-acceptance of the Muslims and thus an attitude of intolerance. The same assertion by Jatau was also affirmed by Faseke expressing the theocratic reasoning of Muslims saying*:*

> This feeling was espoused by a BH [Boko Haram] spokesperson when he pronounced in February 2011 that "We are carrying out these attacks in order to propagate the name of Allah and to liberate ourselves and our religion from the hands of infidels and the Nigerian government" (Faseke, 2013:51)

The sentiments expressed above denote a common character among religions, especially the Abrahamic religions. Faseke's description of religion brings us to the examination of the role of Scriptures in religion and the role of religion in social conflict. Faseke argues as follows:

> Religion is a combination of text and context. And a number of scholars that hold the view that religious violence is used as instrument, acknowledge that the problem is not religion but the understanding of religion …. A religious text could be used either to promote respect for differences or to endorse claims of exclusivity and spiritual superiority. This idea is best captured by Silberman et al. who use a 'meaning system approach'—in explaining how religion affects world change and its ability to facilitate both violent and peaceful activism—to describe religion as an individual or collective meaning system similar in its structure, malleability, and functioning, but unique in centering on what it perceives to be sacred. They believe that this meaning system can encourage hatred, demonization, discrimination and violence while it can also facilitate peace, drawing on such values as sanctity of life, selflessness and empathy, among other values. It is this malleability of text that contributes to religious terrorism (2013:51).

In demonstrating the point made above, Faseke makes an example of different groups of Muslims that interpret the Quran differently. For example, the fanatics, "are opposed to interpreting text because of its susceptibility to errors and because it is believed the contents were divinely inspired, there is, therefore, no distinction between fact and fable" (2013:52). Such a literalist reading can lead to what can be called blind faith which can even lead to killing in the name of God. "Some have viewed the use of force to be compatible with the Quran"

(2013:52). Using the same Quran, some have withheld representability, plurality and nonviolence. In the very last paragraph, he suggest that, in the case of Nigerian membership to the OIC, even if there are economic to be benefited from the relationship, if it is rejected by the Christians that is to no avail. Both Christian and Muslim have to endorse it if it is to work. What is being suggested here is that mutual respect of the opposing sides is paramount for a context of a peaceful coexistence.

2.8 Summary and Conclusion

As indicated in the introduction, the chapter started by presenting the historical context of Nigeria in general. Before the colonial era, the geographic region that is now known as Nigeria, was an area inhabited by people of independent kingdoms. The western region was dominated by the Yorubas, the eastern region dominated by the Igbos, and the vast northern region dominated by the Hausa-Fulani. In 1861, the area was colonised by Britain. For some time, the different states continued as independent. In 1914, however, Britain introduced a policy of amalgamation which saw the different independent states becoming one political entity now known as Nigeria. In short, different people were arbitrarily brought together. The study then presented the socio-cultural context of Northern Nigeria. Different cultural traits of Northern Nigeria were discussed above. However, in this summary the study just highlights religious diversity. The common religions in Northern Nigeria include Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religions (ATR). Religiously, the contemporary Christian-Muslim ratio is a highly contentious issue. However, there is a widespread belief that Nigeria is equally divided between Christians and Muslims, although there are many other religious groups which form part of the population.

Moving forward, the study presented a brief history of Northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria became a British colony in 1900, in accordance with the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin of 1885. The three geo-political divisions of Northern Nigeria are North-East, North-North and the North-West regions. In this arrangement, ethnic identity, religious identity and political affiliation tend to coincide in most cases. This demarcation has politically advantaged the majority Hausa people and led to them winning elections. North-East, North-West, and North Central are under the Hausa/Fulani and Christians are in the minority. These are some of areas with recurrent ethnic/religious conflict. As of today, North-Central Nigeria, which is carved from Northern Nigeria known as the “Middle Belt”, is experiencing the most conflicts. This regional area inhabits multi-ethnic groups, which comprise a high number of Christians compared to other parts of Northern Nigeria. Religious conflict is rife in this area. After these

socio-historical-cultural issues as the background, the study proceeded to examine the conflict in Nigeria.

Violence is multi-dimensional in the Northern Nigerian context. The region has been a quasi-war zone with the North-East the epicentre of war since the advent of the Boko Haram in 2009. Many people in Nigeria have been victims of the recurrent violence in the country. Years of militant convictions, of religious doctrines and abysmal leadership have borne a mixture of poverty, diseases, terror, violence, banditry, drug abuse, and other indices of social breakdown in Northern Nigeria. These violent conflicts have undoubtedly caused enormous socio-developmental setbacks in the Northern Nigerian region. This is exacerbated by the recurrent destruction of lives and property. It is practically difficult to differentiate between an ethnic and a religious conflict in this region because the two identities overlap. Other factors that exacerbate violence in Northern Nigeria are the media, political affiliation, economic factors, socio-cultural factors and ecological factors.

At the federal level, there are also factors that complicate for the worse to the Northern Nigerian situation. Federal politics and diplomacy on the one hand, and religion on the other, influence local regions in Nigeria, particularly Northern Nigeria. The Nigerian membership of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) was chosen as an example of a federal diplomatic issue that may highlight the impact federal politics normally make at local level. The membership of Nigeria in this organisation has divided Nigeria along religious lines. The Muslim affiliated politicians were for the membership of Nigeria to the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation. The proponents of this position quoted the financial and economic plight of Nigeria as a reason to propose this step. It was viewed as an opportunity for Nigeria to have another source of economic and financial assistance since the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) seemed not to come to Nigeria's rescue. However, the Christian politicians viewed this as another ploy to dominate the Christian sectors of Nigeria.

Consequently, the debates that take place at this level also trickle down to localities, since the representatives at that level originate form localities. The disagreements that take place at these discussions led to the promulgation of the *Advisory Council on Religious Affairs Act* (No. 30 of 1987) (Chapter 9) in 1987. This act made it possible to have an inter-religious statutory body that would make recommendations on how to attain religious harmony. The effectiveness of the structure to date has not been clearly perceptible.

Lastly, the study examined the different readings of the Bible within this violent context of Nigeria. One approach clearly advocates letting everything into the hands of YHWH and

stoically endure whatever brutality comes the way of devote Christians. Another perspective advocates taking action to change the conditions of poverty and powerlessness in Southern Kaduna as real obedience to Scripture. Another stance advocates retaliation during violent attacks. At the end the study observed that religions, whatever religion, do have their prejudices about other religions. It concluded in all religions there are believers who find inspiration in violent text while others find inspiration in peaceful texts within the same Canon. The next chapter present the analytical tools of this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ANALYTICAL TOOLS OF THIS STUDY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analytical tools of this study. Methodology can be explained as an instrument one utilises to interpret the Bible. For starters, this study will solely depend on written material for its data collection. This chapter will focus on the methodology of this study. There are different ways in which one can extract meaning from the text. One can use the text itself without external evidence to get its meaning. This is referred to as a literary approach. There is still an option of using the historical circumstances out of which the text developed to retrieve meaning there from. This method is commonly referred to as historical criticism. Another option is to use the reader's context to unlock meaning in the text. Although other methods also engage with context, contextual criticism is usually used to refer to this method. Depending on the nature and the interests of the study, one can focus on one or more of these methodologies. However, this study is of the opinion that the interpreter of the Bible is more empowered to interpret the Bible more prolifically when more than one of these methods are used. This has an advantage of being exposed to different dimensions of the biblical text and thus broadening the scope of enquiry.

Since this study is interested in the ideologies underlying the respective texts, it will prioritise ideological criticism, which is a literary approach. Borrowing from the words of Ferdinand Deist, the study will identify and describe ideologies underlying statements made by our respective texts in order to establish the conditions under which the statements were made and to assess the frame of reference within which they judge and act (1984:79). The two texts, namely, Joshua 6:1-27 and 1 Chronicles 7:20-29, will be investigated for the ideologies they express and the interests these ideologies serve. The term used in this study to depict this ideological approach is de-ideologisation. Further discussion on this approach will take place below. The study will also look at the processes behind the development of these ideologies; leading it to harness the historical circumstances out of which these texts developed. These phenomena of the development of these ideologies will be viewed in terms of Stordalen's theory

of Canonization. This theory of Canonization will also be discussed below. After doing ideological and Canonization analysis, a theological analysis will ensue which will be searching for a theological paradigm for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. In other words, the theologies that transpire from the analysis of the respective texts will be engaged in accordance with the reality of Northern Nigeria. The Northern Nigerian context will determine which theology, between the two Old Testament theologies, is appropriate for the circumstances of Northern Nigeria. In this sense, the study can also be said to be employing African Biblical Hermeneutics (ABH). As well, this part of the discussion will be elaborated below. In short, this chapter will be discussing three issues which will be instrumental in reading the chosen texts; namely, de-ideologisation, Canonization and ABH. Theology in Rwanda will be discuss as this chapter unfolds, then de-ideologisation. It will follow with Canonization and complete with ABH.

3.2 Theology in Rwanda

To initiate this study, it is significant to justify it by demonstrating how religion, and therefore Scriptures, have actively facilitated violent conflicts in different parts of Africa. Rwanda is a perfect example to start with. Alison Desforges estimated that at least half a million persons were killed in the genocide, a loss that represented about three quarters of the Tutsi population of Rwanda (1999:18). She earlier stated that a United Nation (UN) evaluator estimated eight hundred thousand, although that included even those whose death was not genocide related. Christine Schliesser claims “up to one million men, women and children were killed” (2018:1). Mahmood Mamdani contends that “no one can be sure how many people were slaughtered in Rwanda in 1994” (2001:26). The fact is quite an unbelievably high number of people died during that genocide.

The aim of this section is to illuminate the role religion played in sowing the seeds of ethnic hatred that contributed to the factors leading to the genocide. In doing so, we can start by depicting the customary identity relations in Rwanda. Timothy Longman describes religious affiliation in Rwanda as customarily inconsequential concerning identity. Religion is not a significant identity marker. Significant identity markers in Rwanda are ethnicity and region of origin. This situation is surfaced in a report Longman makes about a protest, in the early 1990s, against the corrupt authoritarian rule of the Hutu president of Rwanda, Habyarimana. Longman reports that:

> Many Tutsi joined in this protest, because of frustration over their continued political exclusion, as did southern Hutu, who objected to domination of the government and military by Hutu from Habyarimana’s home region in the north (2001:177).

Ethnicity and region are factors of discrimination here, and not religion. According to Longman, religion does not reinforce identity divisions in Rwanda but instead cuts across ethnicity and regional divisions (2001:165). In this capacity of cutting across ethnic and regional divisions, religion carried with it a very strong potential to unify different ethnic groups and regions. Unfortunately, it did not inhibit genocidal tendencies in Rwanda but fuelled them instead. This golden opportunity to allow religion to unite different identity groups of Rwanda was poisoned by poisonous reading of the Old Testament, as it will be shown below. Commenting on the impact of religion on African social and political life, Bjørn Møller remarks that it might have been thought that modernity and globalisation would have receded religion to the margins, as far as politics and conflict are concerned. However, reality exhibits the exact opposite. "Contrary to the fashionable secularisation thesis, religion thus seems to be motivating a growing number of people, also as far as their political attitudes and behaviour are concerned– and sometimes this even takes the form of violent struggle" (2006:8). "An even dramatic example of the (ab)use of Christianity for violence", Møller continues, "is the 1994 genocide in Rwanda" (2006:33). Describing the propaganda strategies of the genocide propagandists in Rwanda, Alison Desforges states as follows:

> In addition to calling on political and intellectual leaders to support their ideas, propagandists used religion and the church to validate their teachings… Most propagandists … did frequently couch their ideas in religious language or refer to passages from the Bible… In a country where 90 percent of the people called themselves Christian and 62 percent were Catholic, these references to religion helped make the teachings of fear and hate more acceptable (1999: 61).

The most striking misuse of the Old Testament to ferment ethnic hatred in Rwanda was the reading of Genesis 9:18-28. The European reading of this text led to what is notoriously known as the Hamitic hypothesis. Hanno Brankamp comments as follows on this hypothesis:

> Colonial era depiction of the Tutsi as a superior Hamitic race that invaded Rwanda laid the ground for severe ethnic polarisation. This myth resurfaced in the period leading to and during the genocide of 1994 (2014: online).

Brankamp associates this Hamitic myth in Rwanda with colonialists. However, Møller takes a step further to associate it with the Roman Catholic Church when he says:

> One of the ideas used by the Catholic Church (including the famous and immensely influential historian and cleric Alexis Kagame, 1912-81) was the "Hamitic myth", derived from the Old Testament … about the "lost tribe of Israel". Through history and

> in different parts of the world this myth has alternatively been exploited to depict certain ethnic or other groups as inferior *qua* descendants on the infamous Ham – or, indeed, for the exact opposite, i.e. the "theory" that a particular group is superior to various indigenous tribes by virtue of its decent from the Israelites… In Rwanda the myth was mainly used by Hutu extremists to portray the Tutsi as alien conquerors from Ethiopia, to which country they should be returned, as formulated in a speech by Léon Mugesere in 1992, who obviously referred to dumping the bodies of the "Hamites" in the Nyabarongo River leading to Ethiopia (2006:34).

Mamdani connects the dots between the colonial interpretation and the Roman Catholic Church in Rwanda concerning the Hamitic hypothesis. He says:

> The colonialists' explanation – the "Hamitic hypothesis" – was ingenious: every sign of "progress" on the Dark Continent was taken as proof of the civilizing influence of an alien race. Ancient Egypt, Ethiopia, Rwanda: all these were the work of an ancient European race, the children of Ham – Noah's son, in the Hebrew Bible. The Hamites were taken to be black-skinned Caucasians; they wandered across the African continent and ruled over their racial inferiors, the black-skinned blacks. In 1870, at the Vatican I council, a group of cardinals called for a mission to central Africa in order to rescue "hapless Hamites caught amidst Negroes", to alleviate "the antique malediction weighing on the shoulders of the misfortunate Hamites inhabiting the hopeless Nigricy" (2001:43).

The point being made here is that some of the readings of the Bible have caused too much strife in many regions in Africa. The Northern Nigerian situation is not an isolated circumstance but another example, among many, of an African society being a victim of irresponsible readings of the Old Testament. Africa is not the only victim of these irresponsible reading but the world in general has had to contend with this ill. However, because the researcher is in Africa, he focuses on the continent he knows better, Africa.

A few pre-genocide and during genocide issues may be enlightening to make sense of theology in post-genocide Rwanda. In her discussion, Christine Schliesser highlights that the Rwandan population was ninety percent Christian before genocide and still ninety percent Christian after the genocide. Sadly, she reveals that during the genocide churches were no longer respected sanctuaries but death traps wherein more people died than anywhere else. Against this background, she explores the role of the Christian churches and their theology before, during and after the genocide. Her paper is interestingly titled questioningly, "From 'a Theology of

Genocide' to a 'Theology of Reconciliation'"? Although it is in a form of a question, it hints something about the theology of the churches in the history of Rwanda. As already indicated above, she asserts that churches collaborated in creating a genocidal environment in Rwanda. According to her, this took place in four forms. Firstly, churches had strong links with the state. Secondly, they got involved in ethnic policies. Thirdly, churches engaged in power struggles. Finally, churches maintained a problematic theology. Most relevant for us are the ethnic and theology factors so the first and the third we will not examine. The ethnic factor has already been referred to as the Hamitic hypothesis. The theology factor therefore is the one still outstanding. According to Schliesser:

> The brand of Christianity propagated by the White Fathers and other missionaries emphasized obedience and respect for authorities. While this is one aspect in the Christian Scriptures (e.g., Romans 13), other significant dimensions were neglected. The missionaries taught little regarding Christian responsibility for the other person. Topics such as the active love of one's neighbor and even of one's enemy (Matthew 5:44) went unnoticed (2018:5).

Commenting on the above observation, Schliesser makes a profound remark that cannot pass unnoticed when she says:

> Christian theology itself must therefore undergo a critical hermeneutical analysis that comprises both the self-critical acknowledgement of problematic Scriptural interpretation and the quest for a more appropriate hermeneutics of relevant passages. This must include…a "relocation of religious language" as the "strong interaction in political and religious speeches facilitated the way to genocide"… Religious language and theological concepts themselves need to undergo a critical scrutiny and re-interpretation (2018:5).

Desforges counts seventeen incidents of serious violence in the years 1990-1993, during which the churches kept quiet (:70). Schliesser, does point out to some church-led initiatives for peace and reconciliation prior to the genocide. However, she also reasons that, although these were courageous initiatives, they did not reflect the general attitude of the church. "In general, the churches remained silent", argues Schliesser (2018:6). "Rather than openly denouncing ethnic violence, most church leaders continued to call for the support of the government" (2018:7). It is because of this silence on the genocide that she speaks of "genocide" theology. Even calls for peace did not depict the situation as genocide. Instead they depicted it as a war situation

putting much blame on the Patriotic Front of Rwanda (PFR) and thus drawing attention away from the genocide that was taking place.

The post-genocide period unfolded in quite an interesting pattern as far as religion is concerned. Above it was reported that Rwandans were 90% Christian before the genocide and remained 90% Christian after the genocide, despite having been betrayed by the Christian church. However, this does not mean the Rwandan religio-scape was left untouched. Quoting Kubai, Schliesser puts it as follows; "religion has been and continues to be part of Rwanda's system of meaning-making and meaning-interpretation, and hence has contributed to shaping new values, demands of propriety and interpretations of old norms that have emerged after the genocide" (Schliesser, 2018:7). What actually happened is that Rwandans migrated from the Roman Catholic Church to the Protestant Churches. "Since the genocide, the Catholic Church has lost about one third of its members. In contrast, the Protestant denominations have had a steady increase in membership. From 19% in 1990, they have doubled to 38% in 2015 (Schliesser, 2018:7). In the political front, President Paul Kagame decreed a "National Politics of Reconciliation" that promotes reconciliation on several levels. The churches joined in to support the campaign for reconciliation in Rwanda. For example, the Presbyterian Church initiated different programs to promote reconciliation and peace in Rwanda. Other denominations such as the Rwandan Anglican Church and the Pentecostal Church. Describing the theological dimension of the Presbyterian Church's engagement with reconciliation, Schliesser states as follows:

> The theological dimension refers to the training of pastors and church staff. Already in their theological training and education, future pastors are confronted with topics such as reconciliation, healing, and transformation. Based on the acknowledgement of their failures as voiced in the Detmold Confession (1996), the EPR [Presbyterian Church] now interprets biblical Scriptures in a manner that emphasizes love and mutual forgiveness (cf. Matthew 18). The Christian Gospel of grace provides helpful resources as the pastors spread the message and their normative implications in their parishes throughout the country. Different vehicles such as weekly sermons, group activities such as youth groups, bible study groups or women's groups, and worship songs and dances are utilized in disseminating and deepening the message of peace and forgiveness (2018:9).

This process from the pre-genocide period through the genocide period to the post-genocide period Schliesser describes as a movement from the theology of genocide to the theology of reconciliation. At this point, the discussion comes to a close on the Rwandan genocide,

however, the commitment of the churches in the promotion of reconciliation in Rwanda is very much encouraging in terms of the flexibility of Scripture. Before the genocide Scripture was used to support the genocidal attitudes. After the genocide, the same Scripture is used to promote reconciliation. It is very much encouraging to perceive the Presbyterian Church's commitment so that the outline of their program is being presented here below:

> To facilitate reconciliation at the institutional level, the EPR founded the "Center for Training and Documentation" (CFD) in 1996. The Center aims "to strengthen the abilities of religious leaders so that they can become catalysts for full and sustainable development" (Center for Training and Documentation n.d.). Four programmes were implemented to fulfil this objective. First, a basic theological training program directed at evangelists and lay preachers without formal theological training and the continued training of religious leaders training. Second, programs designed to fight against HIV/Aids by providing psycho-social support and counselling. Third, an interreligious program for Christians and Muslims promoting dialogue for peace and reconciliation. And fourth, research and documentation. Although the Center was founded by the EPR, it "serves to promote the training of all religious leaders" (Center for Training and Documentation n.d.). The recently established "Dietrich Bonhoeffer Research Center for Public Theology," founded in 2016, supports the work of the CFD. The Bonhoeffer Center promotes theological research on the German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1908–1945) for religious peacebuilding and reconciliation in Rwanda and beyond (2018:9).

This history reinforces the thesis of this study, that Scripture contains different theologies and thus de-ideologisation is necessary for theology to serve communities fruitfully. Having discussed the Rwandan situation and demonstrated the theological nature of the Scripture. Let us proceed to discuss de-ideologisation.

3.3 De-Ideologisation

The term de-ideologisation can easily confuse the reader. At face value, it seems to be connoting the removal of ideology from the text so that the text is free of the ideology embedded in it. Contrarily, that is not what it means but the identification and acknowledgement of the ideology embedded in the text. Identifying and acknowledging that ideology is not enough. One should also identify other ideologies that compete with the identified ideology, providing an informative reading for the reader. The reader is thus empowered to make informed and consistent theological choices for his or her context. This exercise is based on the finding that the Old Testament comprises of different theologies and sometimes contradictory. Emphasising

the importance of de-ideologisation, Elelwani Farisani states as follows in commenting on his reading of Ezra-Nehemiah:

> Our study of the text of Ezra-Nehemiah takes seriously the fact that this text is not neutral, it is embedded within an ideological world of its author, which suppresses and oppresses the voice of the marginalised group, namely the *am haaretz*. Having argued for the identification and analysis of ideologies in biblical texts, this article proposes an ideologically aware reading of biblical texts. Linked to this is the third point, namely, if black biblical hermeneutics has to have an impact in post-Apartheid South Africa, it does not only have to relate the text as is to the black context, it must also de-ideologise that particular text in the first place. For an unideologised[31] reading may be counterproductive, in that instead of supporting and advancing the cause of the black and marginalised, such a reading may further marginalise them by further enslaving them with the 'revealed word of God (2017:6).

The issue here is that, while the Old Testament is authoritative Scripture, it also contains different theologies. In this diversity of theologies other theologies may lead to more strife when applied to some contexts in Africa while others may provide helpful guidance. For example, the segregationist theology of Deuteronomy created more strife when it was applied in South Africa. It is in this sense that the reader must identify the ideology in the text and compare it with other competing ideologies. The context of the reader should be determinative in embracing an appropriate theology. This is not a new phenomenon, it dates back to the Old Testament itself. The fact that there are different theologies in the Old Testament is an indication of the influential role the context of the reader of Scripture played in the interpretation thereof. For example, commenting on Isaiah 43:18 that says "Do not remember the former things, or consider the things of old", Thomas Römer says:

> Particularly interesting here is the instruction not to remember "former things" … the "former things" indicate the Deuteronomistic discourse on the reasons for the destruction of Jerusalem. Thus, this text should be understood as engaging in critical dialogue with the Deuteronomistic History (2015:263).

Describing the circumstances out of which this verse might have arisen, John Goldingay says, "chapters 40-55 refer several times to Babylon (43:14; 46:1; 47:1; 48:14, 20) in a way that suggests Babylon is still the imperial power but that its fall is imminent" (2014:3). This means

[31] Meaning not de-ideologised.

the context was about to change and thus the line of thinking had also to begin to change. For the Deuteronomists, the context dictated that they look backwards in their thinking while for Deutero-Isaiah the context called for forward-looking thinking. It is the context that is at play here. Of utmost importance for this discussion are the theologies involved in these different circumstances. In the former God is revealed as punishing and in the latter as forgiving. These are different understandings of God precipitated by contextual circumstances. As already indicated, the contextual role in the interpretation of Scripture is not a new phenomenon.

By allowing the African context to influence the interpretation of Scripture we are part-taking in an age-old tradition. Thus, the ideologies that will be investigated in the respective texts will be examined in accordance with the contextual circumstances of Northern Nigeria. The major task is to identify the ideologies in these texts and compare them in search of a paradigmatic theology for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. De-ideologisation therefore, is the main instrument this study will be utilising in reading the respective texts. De-ideologisation is an ideological critical method in rhetorical criticism. It is literary criticism; meaning it focuses on the text itself for meaning. In the introduction this is the first method of reading the Bible that was mentioned and this study will employ it. Let us now proceed to examine the second analytical tool that this study will employ; Canonization.

3.4 Stordalen's Theory of Canonization

After identifying the different ideologies, the study will proceed to try to make sense of these ideologies through the lens of Stordalen's Theory of Canonization. However, before getting into Stordalen's theory, it might be helpful to get a general sense of a canon. Ferdinand Deist offers a very brief but to the point description of the adjective canonical when he says; "endowed with (divine) authority" (1984:24). From an etymological point of view:

> The term "canon" comes from the Greek word κανών (*kanōn*), referring to a reed that served as a measuring instrument. It came to designate a standard or rule used to evaluate the truthfulness and worth of a saying. When applied to sacred writings, the word refers to the books that are regarded as divinely inspired and normative for the beliefs and practice of the faith (Raquel, 2016: Online).

Lastly on definitions, another definition comes from Stordalen quoting Eugene Ulrich:

> […] canon is the definitive list of inspired, authoritative books which constitute the recognized and accepted body of sacred scripture of a major religious group, that

> definitive list being the result of inclusive and exclusive decisions after serious deliberation (2012:21).

All of these definitions mention something profound about the canon. Deist mentions divine authority. Raquel refers to evaluation of "the truthfulness and worth of a saying". Stordalen alludes to "exclusive and inclusive decisions". Combined, these observations can characterise a canon as a corpus of exclusive and inclusive decisions taken after vigorous deliberations which were then endowed with divine authority and declared a measure for truthful and worthy sayings. With this idea in mind, the study further adds Raquel's statement that; "When applied to sacred writings, the word refers to the books that are regarded as divinely inspired and normative for the beliefs and practice of the faith". Still keeping this perception of the canon in mind, Stordalen's further remark to characterize the canon becomes even more interesting. He states that:

> Canonicity does not reside in the canonical corpus as such, but in what a given community *does* to that corpus. What communities *do* to their canons becomes apparent, for instance, in situations where canons migrate or where historical change alters the context for interpretation. In such situations, communities that successfully promote a canon are able to conjure the old texts into making new sense, and at the same time they are able to avoid the impression of a radical break (2015: 134).

In short, with the authority they carry, canons are binding but at a time deemed proper by the community, they can be contextualised and still keep their status as documents continuing the tradition of the past. This is an important feature of the canon for our discussion. Also, important, Stordalen (2013: 24) highlights that canons have an ideological character. With these properties of a canon as an introduction to this part of the discussion, let us now proceed to look at the process of Canonization.

In his discussion of Canonization, Stordalen highlights three entities of this process, namely, the canon, the canonical commentary and the canonical community. These three elements form the core of the canonization process (2015:125). Stordalen argues that "social dynamics require that a canon remains convincing, which inevitably means it must be flexible… Since change in a formalized canon is rare, most strong canonical traditions obtain flexibility by way of interpretation" (2007:20). The theory postulates that canons, which are authoritative Scriptures, are formed at specific moments in the history of their communities. As time progresses, new contextual challenges arise and when the canon cannot satisfactorily address the challenges,

commentaries come forward to make the canon relevant for current times. This means commentaries intervene to disentangle an interpretation crisis at a particular time in history.[32] Some of these commentaries later become canonical themselves.[33] In such instances, the relationship between the canon and the commentary becomes symbiotic in nature in the sense that "the commentary provides relevance and contemporaneity to the canon, while the canon provides dignity and authority to the commentary". In an introductory chapter to *The Formative Past and the Formation of the Future: Collective Remembering and Identity Formation*, Stordalen and Naguib describe Stordalen's contribution as follows:

> Terje Stordalen argues that scriptural religious traditions tend to develop canons as well institutions authorized to comment upon the sacred text. Such authorized commentary may in turn itself become part of the formal canon, and in any event, it will contribute to changing how the canon may work (2015: 24).

The final statement asserts that the commentary contributes to changing how the canon may work. An even telling statement is an earlier one that says "Terje Stordalen argues that canonical commentary contributes to a continuous reshaping of the presumably immutable Christian (Jewish) canons" (2015:21). This is an important remark for this study, as it will be examining theological differences between the DH and the CH.

At this point, it is significant to introduce the concept of identity formation. This concept becomes imperative when one considers the fact that there are interconnections between recalling the past and formulation and maintenance of social, ethnic, religious, etc. identities in the present (Stordalen and Naguib, 2015:17). According to Cezula:

> … identity formation … refers to a phenomenon that is fluid and kinetic in nature; not static and stationery. As much as the core of identity formation is identity, the study avoids giving an impression that identity is a given, original and "uncontaminated" condition, hence identity formation. Identity adapts to new circumstances and therefore evolves with the consequence that it is continually in a state of formation. Identity

[32] It is important to know that God's word does not change. God's world, people, however, changes in every generation. These changes, in addition to new normal or findings by scholars and a new variety of challenges to the context calls for each generation to interpret and apply God's word for God's people in their own time.

[33] Biblically, commentaries are written to give explanations about authoritative texts. When the canon is no longer sufficient to explain the authoritative text, then the commentary is made canon to salvage the situation at that point in time. In essence, Chronicles is a commentary that was made canon as it retells the story about Joshua, the son of Nun. From the above, we can see that authoritative text, that is the book of Joshua, plus commentaries, which is Chronicles now became a canon. Therefore, both the authoritative text, Joshua, and the commentaries, Chronicles, became canonical literature or part of the OT canon (Stordalen, 2007:20).

> borders may be narrowed or widened as the circumstances demand. They shift in response to the circumstances of the present context. (2013:16).

In all, by identity formation this study refers to identity but, to avoid the impression that identity is static and stationery, it refers to it as identity formation. The contribution of the concept of identity formation in this discussion is to help make sense of the ideological nuances that sometimes result from the contributions of the commentaries. For example, commenting on the insertion of Psalm 132 in 2 Chronicles 6:41-42 in the place of 1 Kings 8: 50-51 and 53, Cezula concludes that "Psalm 132:8-10 is used here to cause a discontinuity between the two versions of Solomon's prayer and to emphasise the Davidic covenant over the Mosaic covenant" (2016: 284). It is such theological shifts that the concept of identity formation helps us to explain. Specifically, the study is interested in the self-understanding of the Israelites in relation to other nations at certain points in their history. This self-understanding did not remain the same throughout the history of Israel and thus exhibited different ethnic theological standpoints. This, the study argues, also affected the canon. Since, according to Stordalen, "canonicity does not reside in the canonical corpus as such, but in what a given community *does* to that corpus", identity formation becomes relevant for Canonization.

Returning back to our discussion on Canonization, it is the lens by which this study will examine the different ideologies that will be highlighted by de-ideologisation from the Joshua and the Chronicles texts. Specifically, it will help to make sense of the different depictions of the character of Joshua in the respective corpora, which the study is convinced are ideological consequences. The three entities of Canonization; canon, canonical commentary and canonical community, will provide the necessary assistance in clarifying issues. Of importance to highlight; such an exercise will require an historical background to the texts. Thus, in addition to the literary approach to the reading of the texts, an historical approach will also be applied. Whatever transpires from the exercise, will be used to engage the challenge of violence in Northern Nigeria. This remark means this study employs an African Biblical Hermeneutics to affect its exegetical tools. Let us elaborate on this claim in the following section.

3.5 African Biblical Hermeneutics (ABH)

By employing African Biblical Hermeneutics, the study may invite criticism of not according to "the Bible its authentic place as a book of faith" and reducing relevance and contextuality to political correctness, as Christo Lombaard once commented about ABH (2006:147-148). At worst, the study may be accused of engaging in narcissistic hermeneutics (Lombaard, 2009). However, the following three statements are true about Northern Nigeria: ethnic/religious

violence is a reality in Northern Nigeria, Northern Nigerians are highly religious people and the Bible has a strong influence on Northern Nigerian Christians just as the Quran has on Northern Nigerian Muslims. As Knut Holter observed, "… the ancient texts of the Old Testament were translated into hundreds of languages and cultures throughout the continent, and grass-root readers found these texts to reflect, at least to some extent, their own experiences of life" (2002: 1-2).

To further demonstrate the intensity of Bible reading in Africa, Holter remarks that the Old Testament is embraced by "lay people as well as clergy, ordinary readers as well as professional interpreters, churches attached to denominations originating in the West as well as African instituted churches" (2002: 2). It might be enlightening at this point to refer to a remark that was once made by Gerald West in his response to a paper by Eep Talstra. West remarked that ordinary and the scholarly or socially engaged Biblical readers of the Bible do not usually share the professional readers' responsibility to the voice(s) of the text but the professionals can serve them best by respecting the text in working with them (2009: 222). Since the Bible entails texts that advocate exclusion of the "other" and the inclusion of the "other" at the same time, it is imperative for the professionals to provide the necessary assistance for the popular readers to be able to read the Bible from a theological perspectival approach. Such an approach recognises that the Bible is a home to a variety of theological perspectives and thus one needs to compare theologies before taking a theological stand. It is a fact that some of the social ills in African communities are encouraged by particular Scriptural understandings.

Sometimes people manipulate Scripture for their selfish interests or participate in these social ills in what they think is "obedience" to Scripture. According to Hellen Nambalirwa Nkabala, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda, "has used the Bible to justify their violent actions, and their use of force has overturned the social and generational structures of the Acholi people" (2017:92). The domination of women by men, while it is embedded within most of the African cultures, it is also reinforced by some biblical interpretations. Ethnic/religious violence is no exception. According to Gerard van't Spijker, the Rwandan genocide was justified by reading Deuteronomy 25:17-19 in conjunction with 1 Samuel 15 by some pastors and Christians. He thus remarks: "Using a literal and fundamentalist interpretation of this text, some extremist Hutu identified themselves with Israel, seeing the Tutsi as Amalek, and by doing so justifying the genocide of the Tutsi as a God given order" (2017:68). It is against this background that this study upholds ABH. It is this study's concern therefore, in Holter's words, "to encourage individual Christians and the church to play a constructive role in the work for a better society" (2000:66). Having identified itself with ABH, it is necessary

to locate itself within the broader ABH that "has several branches with different methodological approaches to the biblical text", as Farisani has correctly described it (2017:4).

To locate this study within the wider scope of ABH, let us start by a broader description thereof. However, it needs to be clarified that the intention of this subsection is not to discuss ABH but to locate this study within the broader African Biblical Hermeneutics. For that reason, an exhaustive discussion of ABH should not be expected. Only the contours of ABH will be provided just to illuminate this study's contribution. Farisani, taking his cue from Jonathan Draper, states as follows:

> Generally speaking, the interpretation of the biblical text in Africa has three key elements or poles: the pole of the biblical text, the pole of the African context, and the pole of appropriation. Jonathan Draper has referred to this as a 'tripolar' approach (2017:8).

Continuing to elaborate on the three poles of ABH, Farisani says:

> ABH does not only take the context seriously, it also focuses on the biblical text using different methodological approaches in getting the message out of the text… African biblical interpretation is overt about the context from which and for which the biblical text is interpreted… It is important to note here that "interpreting the biblical text is never, in African biblical hermeneutics, but an end in itself. Biblical interpretation is always about changing the African context" (2017:8-9).

Echoeing the sentiment of different methodological approaches Farisani refers to, Charlene van der Walt remarks that "African hermeneutics does not imply a singular all-encompassing movement or approach to theological issues." It is fragmented and its approaches to theological issues are numerous (2014:14). In short, the broader description of ABH is that it entails the Bible, the African context and appropriation and it comprises numerous approaches to biblical exegesis and interpretation. In conformity with the "tripolar" format, the study will be engaged with two biblical texts, one from the Book of Joshua[34] and one from the Book of Chronicles[35] (Bible). Specifically, the study will examine the role of Joshua as a character in the narratives, in the occupation of the Promised Land as presented by the two texts. It will then probe the ethnic/religious violence in Northern Nigeria (African context). Finally, it will cross-examine the two theologies of the respective texts in search of a proper theology to be paradigmatic for violence prevention in Northern Nigeria (Appropriation).

[34] Joshua 6: 1-27.
[35] 1 Chronicles 7: 20-29.

Having presented the broader description, let us now look at broader categories. African Biblical Hermeneutics is also divided according to the contexts in which it takes place. In a very broad sense, a distinction is made between the popular context and the academic/institutional context (Knut Holter 2002; Justin Ukpong 2001; Peter Nyende 2007).

Knut distinguishes what he calls the popular context from the academic context. However, he also warns that this distinction, albeit its adequacy in making his point, is an oversimplication. For instance, biblical interpretation in Africa takes place in different contexts with regard to theological and ecclesiastical tradition as well as educational level and sociological setting. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this subsection, the distinctions of popular and academic contexts suffice and thus we will continue with them. The popular context is associated with churches and institutions related to the church. The institutions related to the church he distinguishes as official and more private. The official includes the church services and the teaching of the schools. The private institutions may include prayer and instruction in the families. In this popular context one may find theologically trained and lay or so-called ordinary readers. In some ecclesiastical traditions preaching, for example, is not confined to theologically trained ministers but lay people as well preach (2000:52-53). In another paper Holter expresses this sentiment as follows:

> At the level of popular biblical interpretation, some of the interpretative subjects are professional interpreters such as evangelists and pastors, but the large majority is made up of ordinary readers of the Bible; lay Christians who interpret the Bible in homes, schools and churches (Holter, 2008:210).

In addition to homes, schools and churches as places of popular biblical interpretation, Peter Nyende adds open spaces (i.e. streets, markets, fields, etc.) (2007:59).

The second context, the academic context, which is also known as the institutional context (cf. Justin Ukpong 2001; Peter Nyende, 2007), comprises of professional biblical interpreters who are mainly based at academic institutions. This study, because it is an academic research work that takes place within the precinct of a university, belongs to this category. Holter continues to divide the academic context into comparative studies and exegetical studies. Describing comparative studies, he asserts that "the major approach is a comparative methodology that facilitates a parallel interpretation of certain Old Testament texts or motifs and supposed African parallels, letting the two illuminate one another in various ways" (2002: 87-88). In the exegetical studies on the other hand, "the major approach is an historical-critical or literary

methodology that facilitates historical or literary interpretations of various Old Testament texts or topics" (2002:88). Again, he issues a warning that comparative studies are also exegetical just as exegetical studies may include comparative materials but each has one component as the major methodology. Let us now elaborate more on comparative studies. Nyende argues that the thrust of comparative studies looks "at the Bible with the view of establishing some continuity between the world of the Bible and some African reality" (2007:60). Explaining the reasoning behind this approach, Holter says:

> What underlies this approach is the assumption that the supposed cultural and religious parallels between ancient Israel (to which we no longer have direct access) and traditional or even modern Africa (to which we have direct access), may enable the African biblical scholars to find material in the latter that can shed some light on the historical meaning of the textual remains of the former (2002:91).

Even within this seemingly straightforward approach, there is diversity. As Holter continues to explain, "the collection and utilization of African comparative material draws on various models within the social sciences… cultural anthropology and folklore"[36] (2002:91). Two examples to demonstrate the above-mentioned comparisons may be proper here. In a paper titled *Using African Proverbial Folklore to Understand the Holistic Poverty Eradication Framework in the Book of Proverbs*, Lechion Peter Kimilike's subject is the Old Testament proverbs on poverty in the Book of Proverbs. In this paper, Kimilike tussles with the idea that the proverbs in the Book of Proverbs do not have a transformational force. Appealing to parallel African proverbs, he concludes that "the Old Testament Book of Proverbs when approached from an African perspective has a transformative framework" (2006: 405). In this paper, the African context illuminates the Old Testament context. In another paper titled *Wisdom and Wisdom Converge: Selected Old Testament and Northern Sotho Proverbs*, by Madipoane Masenya, the Old Testament proverbs are used to unlock the reality of the African (Northern Sotho) culture. The main enquiry of the paper is: "Can the OT wisdom sayings (proverbs/aphorisms) on family relationships unlock the same reality with success in a Northern Sotho context?" (2001: 133-134). In her conclusion, she asserts that the OT "has the capacity to unlock the African reality" (2001: 145). In this paper the subject is the African context. The Old Testament is appealed to, to illuminate the African context. This should suffice on the comparative studies and this study does not belong to this category.

[36] Holter provides a number of examples in this regard (cf. Holter, 2002:91).

The second category that takes place within the academic context is the exegetical studies. Knut describes this category as "studies whose major approach is an historical-critical or literary methodology that facilitates historical or literary interpretations of various Old Testament texts or topics" (2002: 100). These studies may use some African comparative material but that material "does not play the role of the major dialogue partner vis-à-vis the Old Testament, it rather serves a minor role in the form of an appendix or a practical application" (2002: 100). This is the category to which our study belongs. This study does an exegesis of the already mentioned texts. It employs a literary and an historical-critical approach to retrieve meanings from the respective texts. The meanings that have been extracted from the texts are then used to make sense of the state of affairs in an African context and also provide a theological paradigm to handle the challenges of that particular African context. Specifically, as has already been stated in the introduction, the study will utilise de-ideologisation, which is a literary method, to establish the ideologies/theologies embedded in the texts. To explicate further and strengthen the literary approach, Canonization will be employed, which will go behind the text (historical-critical). After this has happened, the messages of these texts will have been brought forward. These messages will then be used to make sense of the Northern Nigerian situation of ethnic/religious violence with the intention to find a theological paradigm for conflict/violence prevention in Northern Nigeria.

In his analysis, Tuesday Adamo (2015:59, 62) believes that African biblical hermeneutics is a procedural resource that makes African social, cultural contexts the subject of interpretation. This can be considered as a methodology that re-examines ancient biblical traditions and African world-views, cultures and life experiences. This is with the purpose of acknowledging the effect of the cultural and ideological conditioning to which Africa and Africans have been subjected to in the business of biblical interpretation. Adamo (2015:32-33) adds that African biblical hermeneutics is the starting point for transformative biblical interpretation in Africa. He further states that, "African biblical hermeneutic(s) is the principle of interpretation of the Bible for transformation in Africa".[37]According to Bulus (2017:5), African biblical hermeneutics focuses on the context of the audience as well as the contexts of biblical writings, before emphasising the relevance of the 'message' to the African people in a context such as Northern Nigeria. It is about how issues that relate to violence and conflict, raised in the Bible,

[37] Adamo's research is interested on the Old Testament and African culture and African biblical hermeneutics. In his study, African Biblical Hermeneutics as a method of interpretation takes the context of the audience seriously to analyse the Scriptures. It can also be referred to as African biblical transformational hermeneutics.

can be interpreted and addressed within the social, cultural and religious contexts of places in Africa.

Contextual Bible study which is an interactive, transformative and a liberation hermeneutics can be referred as another recent method of African Biblical Hermeneutics (Nadar, 2009:387-388). Gerald West (2014:3) opines that,

> Contextual Bible Study shares with other forms of liberation hermeneutics the inclusion of so-called 'ordinary' readers of the Bible, privileging both the non-scholarly dimensions of ordinary readers and the contexts of a particular sector of ordinary readers, the poor and marginalised.

Contextual Bible study is dialogical, including not only the dialogue between context and the biblical text but also dialogue between 'ordinary' and the 'scholarly' or socially engaged Biblical scholar.[38] In this instance, readers are both in some way dialogue with the Bible as found in liberation hermeneutics. To Ukpong (2001:23), in contextual Bible study, the Bible is read against a specific concrete human situation, which in this study is seeking for a Christian a paradigm for conflict prevention. This study consider contextual Bible study as the study of the Scriptures by the people and for the people.

African Biblical Hermeneutics carries authoritative weight in African culture. As such, when we discuss the hermeneutic(s) that can transform Africa, we are discussing the biblical hermeneutics that is vital to the wellbeing of our society. This can be called African cultural hermeneutics or African biblical transformational hermeneutics or African biblical studies. Therefore, African biblical hermeneutics is the biblical interpretation that makes "African social cultural context a subject of interpretation." Regarding Bible reading in Africa, Cezula (2015:132) argues that "the natures of 'the Bible' and 'the African context' contribute to the complexity of Bible reading in Africa", whereas Ukpong (2001:152) points out that the African context is a "social, economic, political and religious context that is complex, multifaceted, and often vexed".[39] Ukpong (2001:11) maintains that Biblical interpretation in Africa must involve diverse techniques that link the biblical text to the African context. The interpretation should

[38] The term ordinary readers (OR) is used to refer to people with no theological education or non-scholarly interpreters of the Bible, who do not need resources of biblical research whether historical or literary in order to relate the Bible to their context. Ordinary readers have always been able to use their resources to find connections between the Bible and their lives. Socially Engaged Biblical Scholars (SEBS) on the other hand are those who have obtained theological education/training, that is, a minimum of diploma or Bachelor of Arts in theology from a college, and who employ historical and literary resources of biblical research to interpret the Bible in their context (West, 2006a: 132-133).

[39] Cezula (2015:132) argues that "when one uses the phrase 'the context', it should be remembered that Africa has different historical periods, different geographical locales, different cultural groups, etc. "

be in a way that the main focus is on the communities that receive the text rather than on those that produced it or on the text itself (Chitsulo, 2015:10-11). As such, Bible reading in Africa is a rereading of the Christian Scriptures that is from a premeditatedly Afrocentric perspective. Specifically, it means that "the analysis of the biblical text is done from the perspective of an African world-view and culture" (Adamo, 2015: 32-33). In this regard, interpretation of the Scripture becomes relevant to African communities.

It is noteworthy that African Biblical Hermeneutics is not an exegetical method. Exegetical methods are literary methods, historical-critical methods and theological methods. These methods try to establish the meaning of the text as the author intended it. Hermeneutics, on the other hand, presents the text as the reader makes sense of it. African Biblical Hermeneutics is a choice a reader makes how to make sense of the text. In essence African Biblical Hermeneutics is very diverse. There is no one-size-fits-all. For example, some focus on the context of the Old Testament authors/editors to make sense of the African context. Some focus on the context of the reader to unlock the biblical text. Some use the literary techniques of the Bible to explain the oral traditional speeches while others do it the other way round. Some focus on the presence of Africa in the Bible and so on.

The last issue this subsection would like to put into perspective is an assertion it made above that it is not a product of popular contextual biblical interpretation. Such a self-identification can easily convey an impression that it is in contra-distinction to popular contexts. Therefore, the relationship of this study, as a study which takes place in an academic context, with the popular contexts needs to be hinted at. The introduction of this subsection was concluded by stating that this study employs ABH against the background of biblical interpretations that reinforce the social ills experienced by some African communities. At this point, this statement needs to be qualified by suggesting that the popular contexts play quite an influential role in such a process. Therefore, if this study wants to introduce a biblical paradigm in Northern Nigeria that might contribute in the prevention of violence, that cannot happen successfully without collaborating with the popular contexts.

From the above, and in such a circumstance, West's remark that professionals can serve ordinary readers of the Bible best by respecting the text in working with them becomes pertinent (2009: 222). However, collaboration with the popular contexts is beyond the scope of this study and thus a phase beyond the completion of this research study. Nevertheless, it is imperative for this study not to leave the question whether it is realistic to intend to influence society and still not be part of popular contexts lingering. It should suffice therefore to say there is another

phase beyond the writing of this dissertation. Collaboration with popular contexts is part of that phase and it will be explained in the last chapter. Let us now proceed to the conclusion of this chapter.

3.6 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has discussed instruments that this study will use to retrieve meanings from Joshua 6:1-27 and 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. Specifically, it is interested in ideologies underlying statements expressed by these texts in order to establish the conditions under which these statements were made and to assess the frame of reference within which Joshua, the son of Nun, judges and acts in the narratives. These instruments are de-ideologisation and Canonization. De-ideologisation refers to the identification of the dominant ideology in the text and the comparison thereof with other competing ideologies. This is a literary-critical method. Canonization on the other hand, is the compilation of Scriptures that are endowed with divine authority and thus become authoritative in the running of the life of a community. Since a canon entails an ideology which forms a frame of reference for its people to judge and act, one can make meaningful sense thereof by appealing to the social, political, religious and other circumstances out of which it arose. This calls for an historical-critical method. In short, the study will employ both the literary and the historical critical methods. In using Canonization, the study will be guided by Terje Stordalen's theory.

The theory has already been discussed above. Once this has been done, the study will be able to understand the messages of these texts. These messages then will be decoded in accordance with the challenge of ethnic/religious violence that plagues Northern Nigeria. This will be done to search for a biblical theological paradigm to assist in the process of trying to prevent future ethnic/religious violent conflicts in the region. This study thus employs African Biblical Hermeneutics. It follows the "Tripolar" format of the Bible (Old Testament), the text, the African context and appropriation. It is also relevant to categorise this study within the broader scope of ABH, in the light of some critics incorrectly treating ABH as a monolithic phenomenon. This study is academic and not popular, exegetic and not comparative and using the Old Testament to inform an African context instead of using the African context to unlock the Old Testament reality. However, these categorisations were already declared as oversimplifications since these characteristics are discernible in categories which are not categorised thereby. Nevertheless, they do provide contours of a study to make the discussion intelligible.

Having summarised the foregoing discussion, the study progresses to the next chapter, which will be dealing which introductory matters concerning the Books of Joshua and Chronicles.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTORY ISSUES ON JOSHUA AND CHRONICLES

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the analytical tools for this research study. This chapter proceeds to examine introductory issues concerning the Books of Joshua and Chronicles. Introductory issues have been discussed for quite a long time in Old Testament studies that the discourse has started to seem tedious and unappealing. Nevertheless, one's standpoint on these introductory issues has a bearing on major topics such as ideology of the text. Particularly, ideology is the primary interest of this study. For that reason, this part of the discussion is imperative for this study. Specifically, this chapter will examine the date, the author, the purpose and ideology/theology of both Joshua and Chronicles. Additionally, the historical background of the author of a biblical text is also important in order to enhance the understanding of the text.

In the light of the previous chapter which discussed the phenomenon of Canonisation, historical background becomes even more important for our discussion. For this reason, after the discussion of the date, author and purpose and theology/ideology, a brief historical background will be provided. Three empires are very relevant for a historical background of both the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History. These empires are the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911-612 BCE), the Neo-Babylonian Empire (612-539 BCE) and the Persian Empire (539-333 BCE). Quite Relevant for the Deuteronomistic History are the Neo-Assyrian and the Neo-Babylonian Empires. For Chronicles, the Persian Empire is the most relevant one. This exercise is not meant to present an exhaustive history but to provide a brief background to make sense of some of the dynamics that arise in the analysis of the concerned texts. The discussion will start by examining the historical period of the dominance of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. It will be followed by the reign of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Lastly, we will deal with the Persian Empire period. In all these instances the interest is not in the empires themselves but the kingdom of Judah. In its unfolding, the discussion will start with the Book of Joshua and follow with the Book of Chronicles. In each section, the order will be date, author, purpose and ideology and historical background. A conclusion will integrate the discussion.

4.2 The Book of Joshua

A more telling description of the Book of Joshua is by Steven L McKenzie saying: "The book of Joshua has been aptly called a "canonical hinge" (2010: 39).[40] It connects the Pentateuch and the Early Prophets.[41] Firstly, it connects the two by its physical location in the canon. Secondly, it connects the two by the theme of God's promise to the patriarchs. In the Hebrew Bible, and in the traditional Ancient Jewish scholarship, the book is the first in the series of 'Former Prophets' because its author occupied the office of a prophet (Soggin, 1972:1; Woudstra, 1981:3). In the Pentateuch the promise is made. In Joshua that promise is being realised. In the rest of the literature the promised is lived, albeit in an on-and-off basis. The Book is named after its main character, Joshua, the son of Nun.[42] This character is the main interest of this study. The study is of the opinion that the canonical presentation of Joshua carries elements serving as model for the people of YHWH to judge and act in their own circumstances. In other words, the portrayal of Joshua in this book evinces traces of the ideology of the book. As indicated in the introduction, for a topic such as an ideology of a book, the introductory issues are very relevant. It is in this light that this subsection examines the introductory issues on Joshua.

4.2.1 Date and provenance of Joshua

As it has always been the case with biblical books, the date of the Book of Joshua has been contested throughout. Different scholars propose different dates for the composition of the book. One of the factors is that the dating of the Book of Joshua is somehow related to its genre. Some scholars tended to view the Book of Joshua as history and thus efforts were made to link

[40] From the words of McKenzie (2010:1), the book of Joshua has been popularly called a "canonical hinge." It comes immediately after the Pentateuch (Genesis through Deuteronomy) and is at the head of the Former Prophets. It relates the acquisition and apportionment of the land of Canaan, which is the fulfilment of the promise to the patriarchs and the objective of the people who experienced the exodus from Egypt and the wilderness wanderings.
Joshua's father's name was "Nun". Nothing is known of his father except for his lineage that is found in 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 which gives a list of descendants of Ephraim and some of their holdings; where Joshua and Nun are mention in 1 Chronicles 7:27 (Howard, 1998: 74). Historically, the time of Moses and Joshua can be classified as a 'Golden Age' when everything went well since the people respected YHWH and Moses' commandments. This period contrast the time of the Judges which was depicted as anarchic and chaotic period (Römer, 2007:11).

[41] Rosel (2011:1) points out that modern scholars have debated whether the book of Joshua originally belonged to the Pentateuch. Thus, they speak of a Hexateuch or part of another large literary creation which refers to the so-called Deuteronomistic History which started with Deuteronomy (or Joshua) and ended with 2 Kings (Römer, 2007:13). It is understood that most scholars favour the latter theory by taking the book of Joshua to be part of the Deuteronomistic History since it talks about the nations, even though the details are largely disputed by some scholars.

[42] The Book of Joshua is an exilic authoritative text because it is in the OT canon and is also a narrative literature. It is the sixth book of the canon of the OT or of the Hebrew Bible. It was written in Hebrew, and it was copied carefully over the centuries. In this study, the book of Joshua is a narrative literature that became outdated (deserves further discussion), using Stordalen's theory of canonization. The book of Joshua became outdated because of the exile experience by the Israelites.

the Israelite Conquest of Canaan directly with archaeological findings. This idea is clearly expressed by Amihai Mazar:

> In the early years of biblical archaeology, historians and archaeologists tended to accept the conquest narrative at face value. Archaeologists like John Garstang, William F. Albright, Yigael Yadin, and others presented the Israelite conquest of the country as a short-lived event that could be identified archaeologically. Yadin was perhaps the last to present Joshua as a real military hero who conquered city after city in Canaan in line with the biblical narrative (2007: 61).

The spirit of this historical perspective is captured in the words of Roland de Vaux, in Israel Finkelstein, saying, "if the historical faith of Israel is not founded in history, such faith is erroneous, and therefore, our faith is also" (2007:42). Names associated with this line of interpretation are William F Albright, Roland de Vaux, Benjamin Mazar, Yigael Yadin, and others (Cf. Finkelstein, 2007: 53; Amihai Mazar, 2007: 57).

McKenzie notes that there have been some efforts to place Joshua's conquest story in the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1550 BCE) "mainly to accommodate the story of Jericho's fall". He thus states as follows:

> The best archaeological work indicates that Jericho's famous walls were finally destroyed at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, around 1550 B.C.E., and that in the thirteenth century, when the Israelites purportedly arrived, an unwalled village stood on a portion of its ruins (2010:48).

Taking into account de Vaux's concern of a "false faith", from McKenzie's remarks, one can detect the risk involved in excluding the Middle Bronze Age out of the dating of Joshua's conquest. If 1550 BCE is not part of dating, there is no walled Jericho. What does that imply for the Conquest's historicity and "our faith"? Other archaeological developments, however, drew attention to the Late Bronze Age II (1450-1200 BCE). Finkelstein reports it as follows:

> A series of excavations carried out from the late 1920s through the 1950s revealed data that were interpreted as supporting the biblical narrative of the Conquest of Canaan. At many sites, the Late Bronze II cities were destroyed in large conflagrations that were dated to the late-thirteenth century b.c.e. and associated with the invading Israelites (2007:53).

A comment by Albright on these Late Bronze II cities which Finkelstein is referring to is quite interesting, it says:

> If … the Israelites reckoned the interval between the Exodus and the age of Solomon as some twelve generations and the time between the Conquest and David at eight to ten generations, we come to a point somewhere in the thirteenth century for the principal phase of the Conquest … only an extreme sceptic can deny that there must be a connection between this traditional conquest and the great destruction of Lachish by fire about 1230 B. C…. (1939:22).

Another view is by Joseph A Callaway. Responding to Albright's view of the Late Bronze Age and to Martin Noth's claim that the Conquest is aetiological, Callaway argues that there is another viable option to Albright's view of the Late Bronze Age, "namely, that Josh 8: 1-29 reflects a conquest of ʾAi in Iron Age I, or in the twelfth century" (1968:314). Earlier, he confidently contended that "the conquest of 'Ai has resisted integration into the framework of a thirteenth-century" (1968:316). He then concludes that "the new evidence from archeological research on the conquest of 'Ai supports the essential historicity of the conquest…" (1968:320). Thus far, we have three different dates based on archaeological findings, namely, the Middle Bronze Age, the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age.

At this point, it is imperative for the researcher to inject some perspective in the way the reader reads, lest the reader be absorbed into the dynamics of archaeology. This discussion is not interested in the archaeological activities *per se*. Archaeology is only drawn in because it relates to the dating of the Conquest. It is the dating of the Conquest that is the subject of this discussion. It is therefore not in the interests of this study to get involved in discussions about the intricacies of the archaeological activities. The study is only happy to respond to the dating of the Conquest.

The dating of the Conquest, according to the foregoing discussion, vacillates between the Middle Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. At the core of this approach is the military conquest model, of which Albright is the chief advocate. This model concurs with the Conquest narrative of Joshua that the Israelites came from outside and attacked Canaan. However, two other theories contend with the Conquest theory. These are the peaceful infiltration model of Albrecht Alt and Martin Noth, and the peasant revolt model of George Mendenhall and Norman Gottwald. The Conquest theory accepts the biblical account unconditionally as historically correct and simply correlates the archaeological data with it (Coenie Scheepers, 1992: 132).

The peaceful infiltration model employed form criticism instead of archaeology and theorised that the Israelites were semi-nomads who were in search of new grazing land rather than invaders who wanted to take the land by force. They then gradually entered the land and settled as an agricultural community (Coenie Scheepers, 1992: 132).

As McKenzie puts it: "They believed Israel did indeed enter Canaan from the outside, but that instead of taking over by means of military conquest the Israelites gained dominance gradually" (2010:11). The historical veracity of the Joshua narrative is thus rendered questionable. The peasant revolt model employed sociological and anthropological methods to reject the nomadic origin of Israel as claimed by the peace infiltration model. For this theory, it was a revolution by the oppressed peasants against the ruling class within Canaan (Coenie Scheepers, 1992: 132-133). This discourse is significant for one reason for our discussion. The latter two theories question the historical veracity of the Joshua Conquest and therefore make the connection of the date of composition of Joshua and the archaeological findings not compelling. The Conquest and the archaeological findings can then be separated without a sense of rendering one's faith false; as it was expressed by de Vaux above. While acknowledging the archaeological findings, one can still look at another historical period for the composition of the Joshua narrative of the Conquest. At this point, it might be proper to present Finkelstein's proposition in this regard. He says:

> The Patriarchal, Exodus, and Conquest narratives, which describe the formative history of the people of Israel, cannot be read as straightforward historical accounts. It is conceivable that many of the stories preserve old memories, folk tales, myths, and aetiological anecdotes. Yet, in the way they are portrayed in the Bible, they are wrapped in late-monarchic (and in the case of the Patriarchal and Exodus narratives, also exilic and post-exilic) realities. Moreover, the way in which they were compiled discloses that they serve the ideological aims of their late-Iron II period authors (2007:55).

We were at Middle Bronze Age, at Late Bronze Age, at Early Iron Age and now Finkelstein brings us at Late Iron Age II. At this note, let us proceed and examine another approach to the dating of the Conquest.

Above, Callaway was presented as responding to Albright's view of the Late Bronze Age and to Martin Noth's claim that the Conquest is aetiological. An illuminating description of Noth's approach in this discourse is provided by Eera Junkkaala saying, "Noth is quite sceptical when it comes to the possibility that archaeology might reveal anything about the origins of Israel"

(2006: 17). For his theory of Israel's origin, Noth searched for evidence within the Old Testament which he evaluated by a traditio-historical method. He based "his history of early Israel on the detailed investigation of 'layers of traditions' in various parts of the Hebrew Bible" (Polzin, 1976: 119). Like one of the archaeological suggestions, "Noth believes that the Israelite occupation took place mainly in the 13th century BCE" (Junkkaala, 2006: 16-17). However, unlike the archaeologist, he does not correlate this date to Joshua's Conquest. According to him, a more reliable source for this reconstruction is not archaeology, it is the Old Testament itself. Instead, he contends that "most of the stories in Joshua are aetiological fiction" (Junkkaala, 2006:17). For a fair comparison of the archaeological approach and Noth's approach, it is proper to mention Robert Polzin's critique of Noth's method when he says:

> He consistently employs his traditio-historical method in a manner that is ironically similar to procedures he has criticized when assessing certain historical reconstructions. For example, Noth has criticized the American School for correlating certain biblical texts with archeological investigations to obtain a historical reconstruction of the conquest… The degree of "historical hypothesis" that is necessary to construct a framework into which and by which to interpret the biblical traditions is as hypothetical in Noth's textual reconstruction as it is in many examples of archeological reconstruction. And in a certain sense those he has criticized can be said to have the better of the argument here since the two sources they correlate are dissimilar and objectively unconnected, i.e., textual biblical evidence and non-textual archeological remains. The degree, therefore, that one hypothesis can methodologically control the other hypothesis is often far greater than in Noth's procedure, in which he relies principally on the reciprocal interaction of textual reconstruction and the historical reconstruction based primarily on it (1976: 119).

Nevertheless, the importance of Noth's contribution is that he provides a different date for the Conquest from the previous suggestions, which is of interest for this discussion. Because he classifies the stories in Joshua as aetiology, we will call his approach an aetiological perspective. Therefore, what we will be examining now is what we will call aetiological perspective vis-à-vis the archaeological perspective. The aetiological perspective, unlike the archaeological perspective, does not subscribe to the military takeover of Canaan by the Israelites. It rather follows the peaceful infiltration model of Albrecht Alt. As already indicated, it employed form criticism instead of archaeology and theorised that the Israelites were semi-nomads who were in search of new grazing land rather than invaders who wanted to take the land by force.

According to the aetiological perspective, the origin of Israel on the one hand, and the historicity of the Conquest narratives in Joshua on the other, are two different phenomena that do not necessarily have to correlate. The origin of Israel is a historical process and the narratives of Joshua are a literary creation. According to Noth, the Book of Joshua belongs to a biblical corpus he calls Deuteronomistic History (DH). An extensive discussion of DH will be done in the following chapter. Here, DH is relevant only as far as it alludes to the dating of the Conquest in Joshua. A clear description of Noth's dating of DH, and by default the final form of Joshua, is expressed by Thomas Römer: "The Deuteronomistic History, which includes the books from Deuteronomy to Kings, was written according to Noth during the Neo-Babylonian occupation of Judah, about 560 BCE" (2007:25; 2015:259).

Martin Noth's theory of the Deuteronomistic History continued to dominate Old Testament scholarship for some time. However, as Old Testament scholarship continued to investigate the Book of Joshua and other narrative books that are somehow related to the Book of Deuteronomy, new opinions about the conclusions of Noth emerged. Some continued to support Noth's theory as it is (Steven L McKenzie[43]). Some scholars supported Noth's theory of the Deuteronomistic History but differed with him on its date and authorship (Frank Moore Cross, Rudolf Smend[44] & Thomas Römer[45]). Some rejected the whole idea of the Deuteronomistic History (Raymond Person 2002; 2010; Kurt L Noll, 2007).

It is better to start with those who totally reject the notion of the Deuteronomistic History because this study is not yet convinced by their arguments. Firstly, they reject the concept of Deuteronomistic. They rather refer to Deuteronomic as acknowledgement that the so-called Deuteronomistic books do contain concepts from Deuteronomy. Secondly, they reject that these books belong to a theological school of thought referred to as Deuteronomistic. For them, rather the books are independent productions that nevertheless, evince some influences of Deuteronomy. This should suffice to demonstrate this category of the scholarship of Deuteronomy and the so-called Deuteronomistic History. Our category of interest are those who agree with Noth on the notion of the Deuteronomistic History and differ with him on the date. The first category is the category led by Cross, also known as the Harvard School. For them, yes, the notion of the Deuteronomistic History is plausible. However, for them there are

[43] "In this book, I continue to assume the existence of the DtrH more or less in the guise attributed to by Noth. That is, while fully acknowledging the use of older sources and the presences of later additions, Noth's explanation that Deuteronomy + the Former Prophets is an original unit, by a single exilic author still seems to me the most economical (McKenzie 2010:18).

[44] For Cross and Smend see McKenzie 2010:14-18.

[45] For Römer see Thomas Römer. 2007. *The So-called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction.* New York: T & T Clark Publishers.

two editions of the Deuteronomistic History. The first one is a pre-exilic edition of the seventh century, during the time of King Josiah. The second category is represented by Smend is known as the Göttingen School. They also agree with the notion of the Deuteronomistic History but differ on the date. What is actually common in this category is the authorship which belongs to the next section. On date they disagree. According to Knoppers, "although Dietrich contends that all three redactions were completed by 560 b.c.e., Smend believes that DtrN stems from the early postexilic period" (Knoppers, 2000:342).

In a reconciliatory spirit, Römer argues for three editions to accommodate both schools. For him, there is the first seventh century edition, accommodating the Harvard School in this regard. There is then the exilic edition, accommodating both schools. Lastly, there is a post-exilic edition, accommodating the Göttingen School. Of these different dates of the Deuteronomistic History, this study is still convinced by the Harvard School. The study therefore adheres to the two editions of the seventh century during the Josianic era and the sixth century edition of the exilic era. The Book of Joshua therefore, comprises of two editions, the Josianic and the exilic. This study does not find a consequential difference between its stance and Römer's stance. Römer's argument for the post-exilic edition is based on the segregationist tendencies of the Deuteronomistic History which were prevalent during the post-exilic period. The study reckons that these tendencies actually started during the exilic era, as it will be demonstrated when presenting some historical background. Although the study adheres to the two-edition stance, where Römer's stance can demonstrate better an argumentative point, especially in demonstrating Canonization, the study may appeal to it to demonstrate such a point.

4.2.2 Author of Joshua

According to rabbinic tradition, Joshua[46] is the author of the book. As Eric Lawee states; Don Isaac Abarbanel, leader of Spanish Jewry at the time of the expulsion of 1492 (Lawee, 1996:65) contended that "Joshua wrote his book [i.e., the book bearing his name] and [the last] eight verses of the Torah" (Lawee, 1996:67). Likewise, according to Robert J Utley:

> …Baba Bathra 14b says that Joshua wrote the book except for the account of his death which was recorded by Eleazar the priest, 24:29-30 and that his son, Phinehas (Num. 25:7-13; 31:6-8; Josh. 22:10-34), finished the book which records Eleazar's death, 24:31-33 (2000:54).

[46] His name was יְהוֹשֻׁעַ or (יְהוֹשֵׁעַ). Twice his name is spelled as יְהוֹשׁוּעַ (Deuteronomy 3:21; Judges 2:7), with the same meaning. In Nehemiah 8:17 his name is given in a shortened form as "Yeshua" (יֵשׁוּעַ). Joshua as a person was evidently born in Egyptian bondage during the pre-monarchical era (in about 1500 BC) and was a young man at the time of the Exodus (Ex 33:11). He was apparently chosen by Moses to be his personal attendant (Ex 24:13; 33:11).

Remarking on this perspective, McKenzie says: "However, scholarship almost universally discounts this ascription…" (2010:42). One thing is certain, however, that the Book of Joshua does not provide information on who its author is. Some scholars link the book with the first five books of the Old Testament and call it the Hexateuch. These scholars believe that it was written largely by J (Yahwist) and E (Elohist) but was later substantially redacted (McCain, 2002:86). Concerning this perspective, McCain replaces E with (Priestly) and mentions the redactor as D (Deuteronomic). The Hexateuch model was displaced by Noth's theory of the Deuteronomistic History. This gives us at least three possible authors (redactors), namely, Joshua, JEPD and the Deuteronomist.[47] This study is not convinced by the authorship of either Joshua or JEPD. It thus subscribes to Noth's theory of the Deuteronomist (Dtr) as the author (redactor) of Joshua as part of the wider Deuteronomistic History.

Like in the last section of the previous chapter, the adherents of the Deuteronomistic School differ on authorship just as they did with the date. In this section, there is no need to refer to those who reject the notion of the Deuteronomistic History. Reference to them in the previous chapter accommodates this part of the discussion as well. Concerning the sole exilic editor, McKenzie was identified as a representative of this stance. According to McKenzie, the Deuteronomist was a true ancient historiographer who wanted to write a "history" that explained the past practices of the Judeans which could have led to their current circumstances of the exile (2010:18). In terms of the Harvard School as represented by Cross, Knoppers explains as follows:

> Cross argues that the main edition of the DH was composed during the reign of Josiah as a programmatic document promoting Josiah's revival of the Davidic state. This primary edition of the DH (Dtr^1) was retouched and revised in a much less extensive edition (2 Kgs. 23:25–25:30) in the Exile (Dtr^2). Cross bases his argument on the interplay between two main themes running through most of Kings: "the sin of Jeroboam," which reverberates throughout the narration of the northern kingdom, and the promises to David, which restrain divine wrath in the history of Judah. The exilic editor (Dtr^2) retouched the earlier

[47] The person Joshua, Eliezer and Phinehas fit the internal and external evidence regarding the authorship, but the DH theory does not prove it. Internal evidence and the DH might suggest Joshua as the author but it could be the work of the Deutronomist (Dtr) who redacted something that was already available. On the basis of such evidence, it is reasonable to deduce that the book of Joshua was essentially composed, though evidently not in its final form, perhaps by Joshua himself, as there is evidence of later editorial work in the inclusion of events which could not have occurred until after the death of Joshua. While a historic occasion for the writing of this book is not evident, it would seem that it was written with the intent of showing that God was faithful in fulfilling His promise to Abraham to give the land of Canaan to his descendants (21:43-45) (DeCanio, 2003:16).

> work, introduced the sub-theme of Manasseh's apostasy, attributing the destruction of Judah to his perfidy, and recorded Judah's exile (2000:341).

According to Cross therefore, there are two editions by different editors. The Göttingen School on the other hand, argues for three editors. This is actually the factor that distinguishes them as a school. According to the Göttingen School, there is first the historically oriented Deuteronomist (DtrH) as Noth posited. A second Deuteronomist (DtrN) who is nomistically oriented is added to DtrH. Also, a third Deuteronomist (DtrP) who is prophetically oriented is added. Knoppers puts this seemingly confusing categorisation into perspective as follows:

> Whereas DtrH, much like Noth's DH, functions as an etiology for the nadir of Judah, DtrP assails the political and cultic apostasy of northern royalty. The third redactor (DtrN) purportedly added assorted legal sayings, the law code itself, and the royal traditions of Jerusalem (2000:341-342).

In terms of three editors, Römer agrees with the Göttingen School, although not necessarily in terms of date. As in the previous discussion on the date of the Deuteronomistic History, the study is more comfortable with the two redactions. So, in terms of authorship, the study settles for two sets of editors. As in the previous section, the Book of Joshua, in line with the Deuteronomistic authorship, has two editorial sets.

4.2.3 Purpose and Ideology/Theology of Joshua

Howard maintains that the major purpose for writing the book of Joshua is to describe God's giving of the Promised Land of Canaan to his people Israel. That the land was a gift from God is repeatedly emphasized in the book, as well as its being a fulfillment of the promise to Israel's ancestors (1998:30). Barry Bandstra elaborates on the issue of land as God's gift when he says:

> It [the conquest narrative] was crafted during the time of Babylonian domination in the sixth century B.C.E., so the writers placed emphasis on possession of the land as the fulfillment of the promise. They stressed the faithfulness of Yahweh to his word, for they, too, were looking to reclaim their ancestral homeland, to recover a home of their own (2004: 242-243).

Bandstra's statement reminds Nehemiah 9:36: "Behold, we are slaves this day; in the land that you gave to our fathers to enjoy its fruit and its good gifts, behold, we are slaves". The relevant point about Bandstra' statement is that the conquest narrative justified claiming of the land. In the same breath, Römer (2007) suggests that the purpose of the original version of the Book of

Joshua was to legitimize Israel's occupation of the land. However, unlike Bandstra, Römer does not place this narrative in the Neo-Babylonian era but in the late monarchic era (2007:90). According to Römer, this genre was borrowed from the royal Assyrian ideology. Römer describes this phenomenon as follows:

> Like Deuteronomy, the first edition of Joshua would have served very well the national policy of Josiah and his advisers. This edition probably consisted almost exclusively of narratives of battle and conquest; imitating the genre of Assyrian propaganda, it was aimed at affirming Judah's political and military independence, at a time when Assyrian influence was declining in the region (2007: 86).

Primarily, both Bandstra and Römer, the Conquest legitimized the occupation of the land by Israel. The narratives therefore, emphasized the giving of the land to Israel by God and thereby legitimizing Israel's occupation of the land. This study identifies this legitimization as the basic purpose of the conquest narratives, although there are other purposes as well. For example, Ian Douglas Wilson also argues that, from a social memory perspective, the narrative functioned as an epic narrative establishing in the minds of its readership continuity "between the seventh century and one of the 'golden ages' of Israelite history" (2013: 325). For Wilson, the narrative makes "important theological statements within ancient Judean discourse during the late monarchic period, at a crucial moment in ancient Israel's history" (2013:326).

For this study, it is helpful to take note of McKenzie's remark concerning this narrative. He remarks that "the Book of Joshua is rich in religious and political themes that might have spoken in different ways to readers at different stages of its composition" (McKenzie, 2010: 53). Especially, this remark is helpful to the current reader who might identify different theological messages in the Joshua narrative. DeCanio and Howard observe that there are at least seven major theological themes that are important to the message of the book of Joshua. They are (1) the promise land, (2) the promise keeping God (3) the covenant (4) obedience (5) purity of worship (holiness), (6) godly leadership, and (7) rest. These combine to form a rich theology that consistently points to God as the major character in the book. All of these could be subsumed under the rubric of "A Promise-Keeping God" [cf. 21:45; 23:14] (2003:13 and 1998:56 respectively). God had promised the patriarchs, in accordance with the covenant He made with Abraham that their descendants would occupy the land of Canaan and have rest in it. God later revealed that Israel's continuance in the land would be dependent on their obedience to the covenant He made with them at Sinai under Moses (DeCanio, 2003:13). Since this study is motivated by the ethnic/religious conflict in Northern Nigeria, for the sake of

eligibility, it has to delimit its focus. For this reason, among different theological/ideological messages discernible in the Book of Joshua, this study is attracted by Wilson's observation which is as follows:

> In the conquest account, the land, its indigenous Canaanite groups, possessions - all of which were non-Yahwistic and thus non-Israelite (to be annihilated/devoted) to Yahweh. In the late monarchic period therefore, in the minds of those reading the narrative, cultic sites deemed to be anathema were devoted to destruction. The literati of Judah would have imagined non-Jerusalem, non-Yahwistic cultic centers as enemies in a holy war, as it were, enemies to be programmatically wiped out, dedicated to Yahweh. Continuing success in this holy war would have been contingent upon pious obedience to the god's commands (2013:327).

What transpires from Wilson's observation is that the Book of Joshua contained an exclusive ethnic/religious theology/ideology. Since the hypothesis of this study in the introductory chapter is that the Old Testament does not advocate a uniform theological perspective on ethnic/religious violence, it is this theological theme that the study will put its finger on. In conclusion therefore, the study postulates that the purpose of the conquest narrative in Joshua is to legitimize the occupation of the land by Israel and it advocates an exclusive ethnic/religious theology/ideology. The study thus contends that the character Joshua's portrayal in the narrative evinces traces of this theology/ideology of the book.

What Wilson expresses here is that foreign cultic practices in whatever form were not to be tolerated. The study thus reckons that it is important to note that these cultic practices did not exist on their own. They existed because their adherents, that is the foreigners, exercised them. This connection attaches a stigma to the foreigners. This is discernible in the connection one can make between Deuteronomy 7:5b and Joshua 6:21. Deuteronomy 7:5b states as follows: "break down their altars, smash their pillars, hew down their sacred poles, and burn their idols with fire". Joshua 6:21 on the other hand states as follows: "Then they devoted to destruction by the edge of the sword all in the city, both men and women, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkeys". These two seem to be both represented in Deuteronomy 7:16 which says: "You shall devour all the peoples that the Lord your God is giving over to you, showing them no pity; you shall not serve their gods, for that would be a snare to you". Both the foreigners and their gods are denounced in this verse. These verses make it legitimate for the study to assert that the Deuteronomistic History generally and the book of Joshua particularly exhibit an exclusive ethnic theology/ideology. This assertion sets the basis for the next chapter.

The next chapter will examine Joshua 6:1-27. In its examination of Joshua 6:1-27, the study will try to ascertain this assertion. Specifically, it will examine the portrayal of Joshua as a character in the narrative whether this theology/ideology is discernible in him. The study has now specified its stance in the date/author debate on the Deuteronomistic History and Joshua. It has also identified some theological themes. It might be fruitful to also provide some historical background for the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Joshua.

4.3 Historical Background to the Deuteronomistic History

Since the date of the Deuteronomistic History was asserted as the seventh century and the sixth century periods, these are the periods that will be presented here. The first period will depict the time of the Assyrian Empire. The second will depict the Babylonian Empire.

4.3.1 The Assyrian Empire (911-612 BCE)

After the death of King Solomon, it did not take long for the kingdom to split into two. Shortly after Rehoboam, Solomon's son, ascended the throne, ten tribes broke away to form the northern kingdom of Israel. The death of Solomon and the split of the kingdom took place approximately 922 BCE. In the meantime, Assyria was conducting extensive military expeditions, conquering lands and extending their sphere of influence (Schneider, 2000:122). Assyria used the system of vassal states which destroyed the small states in a step-by-step fashion. First a suzerain-vassal relationship would be established. The vassal would pay annual dues and tribute and enlist national troops for Assyrian campaigns. If the vassal became disloyal, military action would be undertaken and the vassal deported and replaced by another ruler. A further rebellion would lead to the incorporation of the kingdom to become a province and the vassal be deported (Cogan, 1993:406).[48] In 722/721 BCE Assyria closed off and occupied Samaria. They deported many Israelites and brought people from other lands to settle in Samaria. That was the end of the northern kingdom but the kingdom of Judah remained (Tappy, 2000:1158).

In 701 BCE, Sennacherib invaded Judah during the reign of Hezekiah and boasted of a heavy indemnity he received. It is not clear though why he did not replace Hezekiah or occupy Jerusalem. However, after 633, Assyria's influence declined both domestically and abroad (Cogan, 1993:406). Ron E Tappy describes Josiah's reaction to the decline of the Assyrian influence as follows:

[48] Cogan, M., 1993. Judah under Assyrian hegemony: A re-examination of imperialism and religion. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, *112*(3), pp.403-414.

> Following the decline of Assyrian influence at home and abroad after 633, Josiah reannexed to Judah at least the southern extent of Samerina[49], as far as Bethel, and perhaps the province in full measure. His political and religious reforms led him to desecrate local shrines in the north and to execute their priests (1 Kgs. 13:1–2; 2 Kgs. 23:15–20), while merely closing the high places of the south and recalling local priests to Jerusalem (2000:1158).

While the temple was being renovated, a scroll came upon and Joshua understood it as condemning the religious practices of the Judeans, which would bring about a disaster. According to Carly L Crouch, it has been suggested that this book of law "constituted a subversive appropriation of Neo-Assyrian imperial ideology in favor of a Yahwistic theocentricity". The source of this suggestion is the realisation of similarities between some elements of Deuteronomy and the "Assyrian vassal treaties and loyalty oaths, with a particular focus on the Succession Treaty of Esarhaddon, commonly referred to as VTE" (2014:12). Nevertheless, Assyria continued in its weakness until it fell in 612 BCE at the hands of the Medes and Babylonians.

4.3.2 The Babylonian Empire (587-539 BCE)

The Babylonians replaced the Assyrians as the next super power. In 597 BCE the Babylonians besieged Judah and replaced her ruler, Jehoiachim, with his uncle, Zedekiah. In 586 BCE the Babylonians returned to besiege Judah again. In both besiegements numbers of Judeans were taken away to Babylon. The Judeans were in exile. One of the consequences of the exile was the tension between those who remained behind and those who went to exile. Cezula describes this scenario as follows:

> For those who remained behind, the fact that they escaped exile meant the judgement was upon those expatriated, especially the Zadokite priesthood and their temple cult. The deed to the land therefore had been transferred to the remainees in Palestinians the singled-out-recipients of Yahweh's blessing (2013: 101).

The exiles on their side regarded themselves as the only legitimate Israelites. They were the seed of Israel. For the exiles, the Babylonian exile meant loss of land while for the remainees it meant gain of land. This was the beginning of the conflict that would turn ugly when the exiles returned to Judah. Cezula describes the situation:

[49] Assyria changed Samaria to Samerina.

> Within this conflict context, the temple priests in Babylon, with their attitude towards the royal authorities, managed to partner with the imperial authorities to plan for the eventual restoration of their cult. These polemical confrontations that have been going on between the conflicting claims of the g*ôlah* and the inhabitants of Jerusalem before the return of the exiles to Palestine made even more acrimonious confrontation inevitable once the return had taken place (2013:109)

As a fighting strategy, the exiles came up with the myth of the "empty" land. Referencing a number of scholars, Cezula puts it as follows: "The 'empty land' ideology is in fact an ideological strategy by the exiles to delete the remainees from the history of Judah" (2013:109). The exile and other oppressive encounters with the foreigners would, to a certain extent, implant hatred in some of the Judeans for foreigners. There was potential of division of even the exiles into those who hated foreigners and those who were tolerant of foreigners. The exile lasted until 539 BCE.

4.4 The Book of Chronicles

In Hebrew the Book of Chronicles is titled *diḇrê hayyāmîm* (דברי הימים) meaning "the events of the days". According to Gary Knoppers, this indicates that the early rabbis viewed Chronicles as a book about past events – a history.[50] Knoppers continues to explain: "The name given in the LXX, *Paralipomena (παραλειπομενον)* 'the things left out', testifies to another early understanding: Chronicles records the events left out of earlier biblical history" (2000: 242). According to Louis Jonker, this latter designation "suggested that Chronicles offered only a few additions to the 'real history' preserved in the so-called Deuteronomistic History" and thus Chronicles did not attract the attention of scholarship for a very long time (2013: 1). However, that is not the case anymore. Studies in Chronicles have increased in a remarkable rate. The foregoing section focused on Joshua, which is part of the Deuteronomistic History, as already

[50] The name "Chronicles" is from the Latin word originated with Jerome in the fourth century C.E. Jerome referred to Chronicles in the prologue to his translation of Samuel and Kings as "Chronicle of the Entire Divine History." His use of the term "Chronicle" Referred to a type of literary work in his day that summarized a broad sweep of history. The title was appropriate for Chronicles since its account of history ranged from Adam to the end of the Babylonian exile. Martin Luther in the sixteen century, who was heavily influenced by Jerome, borrowed the title "the Chronicle" for his German translation, which in turn led to its adoption as "Chronicles" in most English Bibles. Thus, while the sense intended by Jerome was lost, the term has come to be the modern title of the book. Jerome's Latin translation of the book itself, however, retained the Septuagint's tile, Παραλειπομενων (*paraleipomenan),* meaning "things omitted" and implying a parallel, at least in scope, with Genesis-Kings (McKenzie, 2004:19-20).
The singular term "Chronicler" does not suggest that it necessarily was a single person that wrote Chronicles but it is rather highly likely that it was a collective work of priestly (Levitical) literati who were responsible for writing the book. For a more understanding of this submission one can see Jonker (2016, sec. 3.3).

indicated. Taking this into account, Jonker's remark quite illuminates the intention of this study when he says:

> We know that the writer(s) of Chronicles made use mainly of (probably earlier versions of) Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (as part of a collection spanning Joshua to Kings referred to as the Deuteronomistic History or Early Prophets) in writing and compiling this book. Comparison has therefore been the main scholarly activity when it comes to the analysis of Chronicles: the version of Israelite history presented in Chronicles is compared to that of the Deuteronomistic History (2013:1-2).

It is within this spirit that the study explores the portrayal of the character Joshua in the Book of Joshua and the Book of Chronicles. As already indicated, the introductory questions about a biblical book have a bearing on other themes of that book. It is on this basis that this section will be examining the date, author and purpose and theology/ideology of the Book of Chronicles. At this point it is proper to inform the reader that most studies on Chronicles tend to occasionally allude to Ezra-Nehemiah. This study is not an exception. From time to time, allusion to Ezra-Nehemiah may take place.

4.4.1 Date and provenance of Chronicles

The Book of Chronicles narrates the story of ancient Israel from creation to the taking of some Judeans to exile by the Babylonians in 587 BCE, although the narrative is told in another historical period. This book is unlike the Book of Isaiah. The Book of Isaiah states that Isaiah saw his vision "in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah" (Isaiah 1:1). This information provides the reader with the basis for dating the book. The Book of Chronicles, on the other hand, does not provide such information. For this reason, scholars suggest different dates for this book. Adam C Welch suggested that Chronicles was written during the exile. The logic of his dating is that the original work of the Chronicler was based on source D, in accordance with the documentary hypothesis[51]. Later, it was revised by a reviser who shared the outlook of source P. If the Chronicler's original work was revised just after the exile, original Chronicles should be exilic. Further, he argues that the Chronicler was a Judean who was not exiled and thus his cultic conviction, equating of Levites with priests and idea of unity between Judah and Israel make sense in this historical context (Peltonen, 1996: 401-402; also cf. Williamson, 1987:13).

[51] The Documentary Hypothesis, which is frequently associated with Julius Wellhausen, argues that the Pentateuch is composed of different sources, namely, JEPD (Yahwist source, Elohist Source, Priestly source and Deuteronomic source).

Interesting as Welch's argument is, the study is not convinced by the exilic dating of Chronicles. Another dating is an early post-exilic one, centered on the completion of the temple around 515 BCE (Freedman, 1961:441; Newsome, 1975:16 & Cross, 1975:14). Differently from Welch, they viewed Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah as one work which developed in stages. Given the theology discernible in Chronicles, which will be discussed here below, the study is also not convinced by this still early dating. The study's examination of the Chronicler's dating includes the sources of the Chronicler. It is fully persuaded that Ezra-Nehemiah is one of the Chronicler's sources. For that reason, Chronicles should come after Ezra-Nehemiah. In this regard, the study agrees with Cezula when he says:

> If we consider the limit we set for ourselves due to our stance on the relationship between Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles on the one hand, and the indication given by Sparks, our range is between 400 BC and 330 BC. To accommodate the similarities in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles which are explained as arising from the contextual influences, the study will not date Chronicles too far from Ezra-Nehemiah. It will not also date Chronicles too close to Ezra-Nehemiah. The middle ground is 350 BC (2013:89).

Cezula suggested any time from 433 BC to 400 BC for Ezra-Nehemiah (2013:88). Chronicles therefore could not be earlier than 400 BCE. The Persian Empire fell in 330 BCE. Chronicles could also not be later than 330 BCE, therefore. A date which is reasonably not too far from nor too close to Ezra-Nehemiah is approximately 350 BCE.[52] This also the stance of this study.

4.4.2 Author of Chronicles

Since the authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah is crucial for this study in establishing the ideology of Chronicles, which is in turn crucial for the whole study, this part of the discussion might be a little extensive than other parts. The identity of Chronicles' author is unknown, and he is typically known simply as the Chronicler. One may say "he" because the author was likely male, judging from the emphasis that the work places on the role of male religious personnel, especially the priests and Levites. This is attributed from what is known of ancient Near Eastern society, in which literacy was restricted for the most part to upper-class males (McKenzie, 2010:1). According to Utley, Baba Bathra 15a suggests that Ezra wrote Chronicles (2000:89). This has been the traditional view of the Jewish Rabbinic tradition. Utley

[52] There is a possibility of a Hellenistic setting for Chronicles.This is because some would date Chronicles after 332 BCE.

also mentions Albright as one of the proponents of Ezra as the author of Chronicles (Utley, 2000:89). This has been a traditional view in Christian circles as well. This view is based on the presupposition that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are a literary work of the same author. Similar to his scholarship about the understanding of the DH, Noth views the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah as a literary unity that is the result of the work of a single individual, the Chronicler (Person, 2010:13). Williamson expresses this sentiment clearly when he says:

> In setting about his work, Noth shared in the almost complete consensus of his time that the Chronicler's history originally included these two books. So confident was he about this that his opening paragraph concludes with the sentence: 'In this case, therefore, in contrast with our analysis of the Deuteronomic History, there is no need to start with a demonstration of the work's literary unity' (1987:19-20).

The reader will notice that Noth makes no mention of Ezra as the author. We therefore have two versions of the same perspective, namely, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah constitute the work of one author. However, the other version identifies Ezra as the author and the other is not specific about the identity of the author. An important point to highlight so far is that, according to this perspective, the designation Chronistic History or Chronicler refers to Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah or the author of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah respectively. This is important to note because the designations Chronistic History and Chronicler feature a lot in this study.

Recognising Welch who earlier separated Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah and who had been ignored, Williamson introduces another phase in the course of this discourse. He says:

> Previously, those such as Welch who had adopted the minority opinion of treating Ezra and Nehemiah separately *from* Chronicles had been almost completely ignored. Following Japhet's work, however, a number of scholars turned their attention to this issue, albeit embarking from quite varied critical starting-points (1987:21).

In a paper titled *Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel: Against the Background of the Historical and Religious Tendencies of Ezra-Nehemiah,* Sara Japhet injects a dissenting perspective saying:

> … the research of recent years has shown conclusively that in spite of the similarity between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, they cannot be seen as the work of the same

> author, and that they are separated by differences in time, worldview, historical understanding and literary method (1982:67).

This was a drastic turn in the course of this debate. Describing this scenario, McKenzie avers: "… while the final result is inconclusive, the scales are presently tipped in favour of the position that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah were originally separate works by different authors" (2010: 21). It might be proper to outline the basis of the same authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. There are primarily four points of argument that are brought forward to justify the same author for the two books. The first one is that the very, very last verses of 2 Chronicles, namely, 2 Chronicles 36:22-23 are very similar with the very, very first verses of the Book of Ezra, namely, Ezra 1:1-3. The second argument is that 1 Esdras represents a fragment of an older, longer work that comprised of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. The third argument is that the style, vocabulary and language of the two corpora are similar, which could only suggest one author. The fourth one is that the ideology of the two books is the same.

In addition, the argument of a common themes of Chronicles and Ezra – Nehemiah is supported by citing similar interests in genealogies, the primacy of Jerusalem, the temple, sacrifice, and the relations between priests and Levites (Céline, 1982). Viewed in this sense, the CH covers an enormous historical span, beginning with the first person (Adam) and ending with the second term of Nehemiah's governorship. However, in recent times, the consensus about the single authorship has been challenged. Scholars like Sara Japheth and H.G.M. Williamson have distinguished between Chronicles and Ezra – Nehemiah. They give the name Chronistic History to Chronicles alone and this is the position of this study as well. Some scholars are not comfortable with the use of the concept of Chronistic History for Chronicles alone, arguing that the concept was designed for Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. Nevertheless, this study uses the word Chronistic as an adjective that describes the Chronicler's perspective of history, as in Chronistic theology. Thus, the Chronistic History, according to them, begins with the first person (Adam) and ends with the release of the Israelites from the Babylonian exile by Cyrus (2 Chronicles 36:21-21) (Person, 2010:62).

In her disputation of the common authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, Japhet disputed the similarity in style, vocabulary and language as argument for same authorship (Japhet, 1968). She argued that "Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles belong to the same linguistic stratum" (Cezula, 2013: 74). Later, Williamson refuted the same ideology as argument for same authorship, arguing that the concept of "all Israel" כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל in Chronicles includes the northern tribes while

in Ezra-Nehemiah it was confined only to the returnees of Judah and Benjamin (Williamson, 1977).

Leslie C Allen dismissed the sameness of 2 Chronicles 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-3 on the grounds that the Chronicler used Ezra-Nehemiah as a source (1999:300). The argument of 1 Esdras was dismissed on the grounds that "it is a composition in its own right, built around the tale of the three youths in 3:1-5:6, and neither the fragment of longer work nor a simple compilation of materials from Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah…" (McKenzie, 2010:21). The latter arguments are more persuasive for this study, leading to this study endorsing the idea that the authors of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are separate. Particularly profound for this study, is the idea that the ideology of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are not the same. This is because the study is convinced that the ideology of Ezra-Nehemiah represents the ideology of the Deuteronomist, which the study views as different than the Chronicler's ideology. Since the study intends to compare the portrayal of Joshua in the Book of Joshua and in Chronicles, this distinction becomes pertinent. The discussion thus far, should suffice to demonstrate the stance of this study on the authorship of Chronicles. The study therefore proceeds to discuss the purpose and the theology/ideology of Chronicles.

4.4.3 Purpose and Theology/Ideology of Chronicles

Above, Knoppers was said to state that the title of Chronicles in the Septuagint testifies to an early understanding that Chronicles records the events left out of earlier biblical history. It was further stated that according to Jonker, this understanding suggested that Chronicles offered only a few additions to the 'real history' preserved in the so-called Deuteronomistic History. Against this background, this part of the discussion will examine the purpose of Chronicles. A quite extensive quotation from Jonker' exposition of history writing might be in order as an introduction to this part of our discussion. Jonker avers that:

> …histories are rewritten to continue, adapt, correct, and criticize older traditions from the perspective of the socio-historical circumstances of the present… Using the past in order to find a renewed identity in new (socio-political and socio-religious) circumstances is something also witnessed in the Hebrew Bible historiographies. The so-called Deuteronomistic History, as well as the works of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, is often read from the perspective of a community trying to find a new identity in changed circumstances (2010: xi).

This statement brings two points into mind. The first point is that the narrative part of Chronicles retells the narrative found in the Deuteronomic History (Samuel-Kings). The second

point is that the Deuteronomistic History is highly likely to have been finalised during the exilic period while Chronicles was finalised after the exile. These two points combined, make one not to downplay remarks by McKenzie concerning the purpose of Chronicles. According to McKenzie, quite a variety of proposals have been offered regarding the purpose of Chronicles. These include "Midrash, exegesis, propaganda, and theology". However, Chronicles is too multi-dimensional, thematically, for any one of these to be sufficient to describe the purpose of Chronicles. That having been said, there is one proposal that can be regarded as covering quite a large extent of the Chronicles' purpose, namely, a "rewritten Bible". Applied to 1 Chronicles 10 to 2 Chronicles 36, the understanding of a "rewritten Bible", particularly "rewriting" the books of Samuel and Kings, may encompass a number of the attributes of Chronicles (McKenzie, 2004:33).

However, McKenzie points out a caveat concerning this proposal saying: "But, it does not explain the extensive genealogical introduction in 1 Chronicles 1-9, which, as a whole, is quite different from what one finds in any of Chronicles' biblical predecessors" (2004:33). In this regard, the study supposes that the proposal of a "rewritten Bible" is still sustainable. It reckons that it may not be far-fetched to contend that the Chronicler may be making a strong theological point by his extensive genealogical introduction. Is it not possible that the Chronicler could employ a Pentateuchal perspective to substitute a Deuteronomistic perspective? Jonker testifies to such a possibility. In a detailed analysis of the Chronicler's usage of the Pentateuchal material, Jonker concludes that the Chronicler created a universalistic framework by his inclusion of the priestly genealogies from the *Urgeschichte* (Genesis 1-11).

The study boldly contends that the Exodus that introduces the narratives of the Deuteronomistic History is particularistic. It presents Israel in contradistinction to other nations. It even culminates in the annihilation of non-Israelites. Furthermore, the study is not oblivious of James T Sparks' assertion that because the structure of 1 Chronicles 1-9 is chiastic,[53] the genealogies should "be the intentional work of an author who was working to an identifiable purpose and goal (2008:538). He further asserts that his investigation "does give some indication of a consistency of theme and outlook between the genealogies and the narrative, a consistency which points to the unity of the genealogical section with the narrative of Chronicles…"

[53] The term chiasm is a sequence of components repeated in inverted order. It is named for the crossover pattern of the Greek letter chi: X. Repetition may occur at the level of phonemes (similar sounds), or lexemes (whether identical or synonymous words). Chiasm was a common phenomenon not only in the literature of the Hebrew Bible, but also in literature throughout the ancient Near East. Sparks (2008:23) unpacks the meaning of chiasm as, "a two-part structure or system in which the second half is a mirror image of the first, i.e. where the first term recurs last, and the last first."

(2008:539). It is interesting to note that Knoppers also discerns some collaboration between the genealogies and the narrative saying:

> … the genealogical prologue (1 Chr 1-9) and the history of the monarchy (1 Chr 10 – 2 Chr 36), despite their different genres, reveal similar points of view. Both end with exile (1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 36:17-21), charge the deportation to infidelity (1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 36:12-16), and announce a return (1 Chr 9:2-34; 2 Chr 36:22-23) (2004:487).

These insights assure the study that the proposal that McKenzie brought forward of a "rewritten Bible" is sustainable for the whole of Chronicles. When McKenzie introduced the proposal of "rewritten Bible", he described such works as retelling "some portion of biblical literature while at the same time interpreting it through paraphrase, elaboration, allusion to other texts, expansion, conflation, rearrangement, and other such techniques" (2004: 33). Some of these characteristics are evident in Chronicles. In a nutshell, this study identifies the rewriting of history as one of the major purposes of the Chronicler and one that accommodates a range of other proposals. Let us now investigate the Chronicler's theology.

When one reads Chronicles, one encounters many theological themes in the book. To count a few: Temple, Davidic dynasty, covenant, immediate retribution/reward, cult, "all Israel", God in human reality and human history, God of new beginnings, peace and others that are not mentioned (Williamson, 1982; Japhet, 1995; Knoppers, 2000; McKenzie, 2010; Cezula, 2013; Jonker, 2013; Merrill, 2015). As in 1 Kings 8:20-30, 9:5-7 and II Kings 17, 22-23, "God remains faithful but the people were unfaithful" (Muriwo, 2017:184-185). However, in the same manner that we dealt with the purpose, some theological themes have the capacity to accommodate many other theological themes. Discussing different themes in Chronicles, namely, the cult, the Davidic dynasty, the temple and "all Israel", Cezula concludes:

> Finally, the concept of "all Israel", as another central theme, unifies the divided. The study therefore reasons that this vision of unity is the main purpose of the Chronicler. The different central themes nourish this broader purpose. As Williamson (2004) and Thompson (1994) indicated above that there is evidence of considerable disagreement at that time concerning how "open" or "exclusive" a stance should be taken to those outside the confines of the group centred on Jerusalem, a unifying voice is one of the most valuable things in such circumstances (2013:94).

In the same spirit, this study views the theological theme of peace, which is closely related to the theme of "all Israel" as seeming to be a proper candidate for such a task. The monarchy and

"all Israel" should be obedient to YHWH and they will attain peace. The maintenance of proper cultic practices assures prevalence of peace. The temple becomes the prototype of the rest and peace associated with YHWH. Retribution and reward are inextricably intertwined with peace in the land. A remark by Jonker crowns the role of the theme of peace when he says:

> Solomon established a cultic center by building the temple in Jerusalem, where both the tabernacle and Ark of the Covenant are resting, and he embodies Yahweh's rest and peace for both his own people and foreign nations (2013).

It is the inclusion of the foreign nations that makes the theme of peace in Chronicles very important for this study. This study will be dealing with the ethnic/religious conflict in Northern Nigeria. It is in this light that the theological theme of peace in Chronicles, which is for both Israel and the other nations, is important for this study. It is also against this theme of peace that Joshua as a person will be examined both in Joshua and in Chronicles.

4.5 Historical Background to the Chronistic History

In 539 BCE the Persians defeated the Babylonians and took over the throne. Of the three empires, the Persian Empire lasted the longest, about two hundred and six years. The Persian Period can be divided into two periods; the Early Persian period (539-424) and the Late Persian period (424-333). "The first phase is the phase of progress and prosperity for the empire and its colonies. …The second phase is the phase of decadence of the Persian Empire" (Cezula, 2013:65). Immediately when Cyrus took over, he permitted all exiles to go back to their lands of origin and also permitted them to reconstruct their temples. By so doing, Cyrus "made it possible for local cults to establish and maintain themselves (Jonker, 2016:119).[54] He changed not only the power structure of the Near East but also the policy toward or that subject people in his empire (Collins, 2004:380). Collins demonstrates Cyrus' policy towards subject peoples by some of his edicts:

> He claimed that it was Marduk who had called him and led him to Babylon, to restore his cult. An edict cited in Hebrew in Ezra 1:2-4 declares: "Thus says King Cyrus of Persia: YHWH the God of heaven has given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem in Judah. Since he told the Babylonians that he was chosen by Marduk, we should not be surprised that he told the Jews that he was chosen by YHWH (Collins, 2004:380-381).

[54] Jonker, L.C., 2016. *Defining all-Israel in Chronicles: Multi-levelled identity negotiation in late Persian-period Yehud* (Vol. 106). Mohr Siebeck.

Cambyses, Cyrus' son and successor, is reported to have helped restore a temple in Egypt. Darius his successor is also reported to have helped re-establish "'Houses of Life' connected with the temple of the mother-goddess at Sais and perhaps elsewhere" (Blenkinsopp, 1988:410-411). The imperial policy that promoted religious tolerance created an environment of tolerant co-existence. However, at local level in Yehud, there was tension concerning who could be part of "Israel" or not. The conflicts in Ezra-Nehemiah depict this tension. Those who did not agree with the ideas of Ezra and Nehemiah as to who can be part of Israel were designated as enemies. According to Cezula these enemies were both internal and external. The external enemies are in the form of Sanballat, Tobiah and others. The internal enemies are in the form of those exilic Judeans who interacted positively with Tobiah (Neh. 6:17-18) (2013:126).

In order to make sense of this tension, a few steps back are necessary. During the exilic era some things happened that laid the seeds for the strife that would become rife during the post-exilic era. In another article, Cezula (2017) has a subsection titled, *Different Voices during and after the Babylonian Exile?* In this subsection he discusses the relations between the Babylonian exiles and the Judeans who remained behind. Referencing different scholars he presents as follows:

> According to Dalit Rom-Shiloni "the exiles in Babylon continued to negotiate their status in relation to Judeans remaining in the land of Israel, rather than in relation to 'proximate others' – the diverse national groups present in Babylon". Describing the situation in exile Fanie Snyman argues that there was bitterness among the exiles toward those who had stayed behind. Daniel Smith-Christopher observes that "the separation of the community in 597-586 began to create long-standing divisions that persisted after groups of diaspora Jews returned to Palestine under Persian patronage" (2017:5).

In this presentation, it becomes clear that there was tension between the Judeans in Babylon and the Judeans in Judah during the exilic era. In specific terms, the tension between the exiles and those who remained behind started during the exilic period. In a different paper, he demonstrates this tension by presenting the attitude of those who did not go to exile saying:

> A remark by McGregor (1994:738) is appropriate at this juncture: "[D]eprivation, like calamity, does not always bring out the best in people… Desperate circumstances sometimes evoke desperate actions…" The same can be said about the time of the exile. To reconstruct their self-esteem, those who remained behind blamed the entire disaster on those who were taken to exile. Ezekiel 11:15 attests to this claim when those who remained behind are quoted as saying to the exiles: "Be far from the Lord; to us this

land has been given as a possession" (רַחֲקוּ מֵעַל יְהוָה לָנוּ הִא נִתְּנָה הָאָרֶץ לְמוֹרָשָׁה) (Cezula, 2018:20; cf. also Blenkinsopp, 1990:63; Albertz, 1994:371-372; Farisani, 2008:79).

In Old Testament Law exile is associated with curse (Cf. Deuteronomy 28: 48-68 & Leviticus 26:25. Also cf. Rom-Shiloni, 2011:144). The Judeans who remained behind may have used Deuteronomy to make sense of the exile. The exiles in return "re-interpreted the exile as Sabbath of the land and thus a sanctification ritual. As purified people, they then understood themselves as the only remnant of Israel to continue the covenant relationship with YHWH" (Cezula, 2018: 21). This tension would become rife when the exiles returned to Judah to encounter those they left behind. In the words of Dalit Rom-Shiloni, "Ezra-Nehemiah does not mark the beginning of the internal polemic in Yehud; this book rather carries on and transforms a long-lived polemic initiated in the early sixth century (2011:129-130). At the centre of this strife was the contestation of who were the rightful heirs to the covenant between God and Israel.

Charles E Carter, explaining Phillip R Davies' thesis about the concept of Israel, which he describes as misunderstood, remarks that "he has drawn attention to the various meanings of the term 'Israel' within the biblical traditions and shown that this term functioned as an ideological/theological construct (Carter, 1999:109). This study adopts the conceptualisation of Israel as a theological/ideological construct in the sense that the concept Israel became contested by different groups within Israel. They claimed it in line with their political and religious interests. This will be demonstrated below by discussing the concept of "all Israel" as depicted by Ezra-Nehemiah on the one hand and Chronicles on the other hand. The tension that has thus far been described is just one category of the tension between the exiles and those who remained in Judah during the exilic period.

There are other two categories of tension during the post exilic period. These two categories have their roots in the pre-exilic era. One is between the exiles and the inhabitants of the province of Samaria. The Samarians, not the Samaritans,[55] are the people who used to be the inhabitants of the northern kingdom of Israel. When the ten tribes of Israel broke away during the time of Rehoboam, they formed the northern kingdom of Israel. They became competitors with the southern kingdom of Judah, comprising of Judah and Benjamin, for the title of Israel. Each entity viewed itself as the true Israel with whom God made the covenant. This contestation is clearly expressed in a statement made by Abijah during a war between Judah and Israel. In the Book of Kings only one verse refers to this war: "And there was war between Abijam and

[55] Samaritan is a religious designation while Samarian is a geographical designation.

Jeroboam" (1 Kings 5:7b). In 2 Chronicles 13:2b-12 the report on this war is quite extensive, with Abijah making this speech to Jeroboam, the king of the northern kingdom of Israel:

> *Now there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam.* ***3*** *Abijah went out to battle, having an army of valiant men of war, 400,000 chosen men. And Jeroboam drew up his line of battle against him with 800,000 chosen mighty warriors.* ***4*** *Then Abijah stood up on Mount Zemaraim that is in the hill country of Ephraim and said, "Hear me, O Jeroboam and all Israel!* ***5*** *Ought you not to know that the Lord God of Israel gave the kingship over Israel forever to David and his sons by a covenant of salt?* ***6*** *Yet Jeroboam the son of Nebat, a servant of Solomon the son of David, rose up and rebelled against his lord,* ***7*** *and certain worthless scoundrels gathered about him and defied Rehoboam the son of Solomon, when Rehoboam was young and irresolute and could not withstand them.*
>
> ***8*** *"And now you think to withstand the kingdom of the Lord in the hand of the sons of David, because you are a great multitude and have with you the golden calves that Jeroboam made you for gods.* ***9*** *Have you not driven out the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and made priests for yourselves like the peoples of other lands? Whoever comes for ordination with a young bull or seven rams becomes a priest of what are not gods.* ***10*** *But as for us, the Lord is our God, and we have not forsaken him. We have priests ministering to the Lord who are sons of Aaron, and Levites for their service.* ***11*** *They offer to the Lord every morning and every evening burnt offerings and incense of sweet spices, set out the showbread on the table of pure gold, and care for the golden lampstand that its lamps may burn every evening. For we keep the charge of the Lord our God, but you have forsaken him.* ***12*** *Behold, God is with us at our head, and his priests with their battle trumpets to sound the call to battle against you. O sons of Israel, do not fight against the Lord, the God of your fathers, for you cannot succeed."*

In this speech Abijah raises significant issues. The kingship over Israel was given to David and his sons forever, priests of YHWH, sons of Aaron, and Levites are only in the south, YHWH is on the side of the south and then he calls the northerners the sons of Israel who must not fight

against God of their fathers. The overall message of Abijah is that the northerners need to disband their kingdom, disband their sanctuaries and their priesthood and return to Jerusalem where they rightfully belong. By calling them sons of Israel and calling YHWH God of their fathers, he includes them into the southern kingdom.

The Chronicler views the northerners as part of Israel made up of twelve tribes and governed from Jerusalem. However, what the Chronicler is doing here is injecting the contestations of his time into an ancient text. The status of the northerners as far as Israel was concerned was a contested issue. The friction between Sanballat and Nehemiah is manifestation of this tension. According to Hannan Eshel and Boaz Zissu, Sanballat was from an Israelite family which went into exile in Haran and then returned to Samaria. Tobiah was from the tribe of Judah that had translocated to Transjordan. They argue, therefore, that it is understandable why Sanballat and Tobiah were interested in the Jerusalem temple (2006:829). Mike Megrove Reddy reports Nehemiah's disappointment that involves Sanballat and Tobias:

> Nehemiah returned to Persia and after 12 years upon returning to Jerusalem, he discovered many things that displeased him. He had discovered that the religion of the Jews had deteriorated drastically and that they were not observing their faith as required. The high priest Eliashib had allowed a high priest family member to marry the daughter of Sanballat (Neh., 13:28). This high priest allowed Tobiah to live in a temple room (Neh., 13:28). The disappointing aspect for Nehemiah was that Sanballat and Tobiah were old enemies of the Jews and the high priest would be aware of such information. However, after Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem, he rectified whatever issues needed to be addressed (Coggins, 1976) (2018:6).

This issue will further be clarified below. For the time being, it is enough to say this brief discussion witnesses to a situation of tension between the north and the south. During the Persian era the relationship between Judeans and the northerners was still contested.

Another category of the conflict is about the relationship of Judah and the foreigners. This had already been determined in the Book of Deuteronomy, which the researcher is convinced was the Canon by the time of the post-exilic period. According to Deuteronomy, the Israelites should not have relationships with the foreigners and should not have mercy for them (Deuteronomy 7). The issue of foreigner does not need much explication. It is openly narrated in Ezra-Nehemiah. Maybe, what needs to be made explicit is that Deuteronomy had quite a strong influence in Ezra-Nehemiah's attitude towards foreigners. Remarking on the law in Ezra-Nehemiah, Blenkinsopp remarks as follows:

> Our survey would therefore suggest the conclusion that "the law" in Ezra-Nehemiah, and therefore Ezra's law *as understood by the redactor*, refers basically to Deuteronomic law supplemented by ritual legislation in the Pentateuchal corpora conventionally designated P and H (1988:155).

He does however indicate that this is not a simple conclusion since there are also indications of practice in Ezra-Nehemiah which are not in accordance with either Deuteronomic or Priestly law. In response to Blenkinsopp and focussing at Nehemiah 9-10, Lester L Grabbe concludes that, actually, the information presupposed in Nehemiah 9-10, "relates to the whole of the Pentateuch and not just the legal sections", wanting "…us to understand that Ezra's law was the complete Pentateuch" (1998:143). Nevertheless, the study argues that the attitude towards foreigners discernible in Ezra-Nehemiah is strongly influenced by Deuteronomy. For example, Ezra 9:2 and Nehemiah 8:18 resemble Deuteronomy 7:3 and 31:9-13, respectively. Ezra 9:12 and Nehemiah 13:1-3 somehow paraphrase Deuteronomy 7:1-4. The ethnic theology of Ezra-Nehemiah, therefore, is strongly influenced by the Deuteronomistic History. Thus far we have identified three categories of conflict during the Second Temple period. They are the conflict between the exiles and those who remained behind, between the exiles and the northerners and between the exiles and foreigners. The only book in the Old Testament that narrates the story of the returned exiles during the Second Temple period is Ezra-Nehemiah. In Ezra-Nehemiah the conflict is described as between the exiles and the foreigners. That is the only category that is presented in Ezra-Nehemiah.

The categorisation that has been presented above does not match with the version of the conflict in Ezra-Nehemiah. Rom-Shiloni intelligibly puts this discrepancy into perspective. According to Rom-Shiloni, Ezra-Nehemiah categorised any group that was not exiled to Babylon as the enemies. She describes Ezra-Nehemiah's ethnic theology/ideology as the amalgamation ideological strategy. The exiles amalgamated all the groups that they viewed as enemies into one category. Rom-Shiloni presents amalgamation in a formulaic expression as a+b=c (2011:137). This means different elements are brought together to form one set. Describing this amalgamation ideological strategy, Cezula says:

> The Judeans or Israelite-Yahwistic communities in the land are amalgamated in this one group to form what Ezra-Nehemiah refers to as "*people(s) of the land(s)*" and thus employing a simple categorisation of the exiles vis-à-vis the *people(s) of the land(s)* (including the groups from the northern tribes) (2017:6).

This amalgamation is the reason why the categorisation that has been explained above does not match the Ezra-Nehemiah version of the conflict.

Lastly, Richard A Horsley argues that "another conflict, or perhaps a set of conflicts, was between priestly groups" (2017:26). He continues to elaborate on this statement by saying:

> At least three particular conflicts between priestly groups are evident in Yehud: (1) between priests who remained in the land and the priests who came to dominant positions under the Persians; (2) between priests and Levites, also involving other groups that served in the temple; and 3) between the emerging priestly aristocracy and other priestly lineages (2017:26).

He then expresses a probability that the Persian policy surely made the position of the aristocracy strong at the expense of other groups. He makes an interesting point that even though other priestly faction gradually lost to the aristocrats, they did not disappear from society. This reminds one of Stordalen's arguments about the formal and the informal Canons:

> Comparative material suggests that while some canons were formally recognised by some official body, others were simply *de facto* canons by virtue of social habits or some sort of social contract (2012:26).

This might be an explanation to Ezra and Nehemiah's disappointments concerning the reversals of their achievements in separating the exiles from the "people of the land". One example is the high priest who allowed his son to marry Sanballat's daughter and allowing Tobiah in the temple. Nevertheless, the most important point Horsley makes is that those factions who were losing to the aristocrats would also leave traces of their versions of the Judahite/Israelite tradition. Those would be alternatives to the traditions cultivated by the dominant factions. He makes an example with Pentateuchal legal material which would represent different contesting priestly factions (2017:28). This brings forward the idea of different ethnic theologies evident in biblical books regarded as second temple compositions. Piet Venter argues that:

> During the Second Temple period (515 BCE – 70 CE) at least two opinions existed with regard to Judean identity. In Ezekiel, and also in the books Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah, an inclination towards an exclusivist viewpoint is found. An opposing inclusivist point of view is present in the biblical books Ruth, Jonah, Job, Ecclesiastes and Esther, as well as in deuterocanonical books such as Judith and Tobit (2012:1).

While the study agrees with the idea Venter brings forward, it categorises Chronicles in the inclusive category. This is the historical background to Persian Judah, the provenance of the

Book of Chronicles. Lastly, it might be empowering to examine one example of the kind of debates that were taking place.

4.6 The Concept of "All-Israel" (כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל)

Our discussion thus far ends with the categorisation of conflict in Persian Yehud. Why this historical background is significant for this study is expressed by Jonker when he says:

> …the rhetorical effect of texts cannot be realised in a contextual vacuum. Texts speak to audiences who exist in concrete, dynamic circumstances, and want to persuade them in those circumstances toward adopting a particular point of view (2016:65).

In the above discussion it was stated that while the imperial policy promoted religious tolerance, at local level in Yehud, there was tension concerning who could be part of "Israel" or not, as depicted in Ezra-Nehemiah. It was also revealed that the conflict was multi-dimensional. Richard Horsley was referred to as suggesting a probability that the conflict also involved a conflict between the priestly elites. The ultimate interest of this study lies in this category of the conflict between the priestly elite. Jonker properly refers to them as the literati. He argues, given the textual evidence, biblical and extra-biblical, "we may assume that the Chronicler belonged to the literate elite in Jerusalem". We may also assume that he had a "close association to the second temple personnel and a good knowledge of past historiographical traditions of Israel and Judah" (2016:68). It is at this level that the theologies/ideologies that influenced the community originated. Our study is about the theology/ideology evinced in the characterisation of Joshua in the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History. This is the kind of contestation that takes place at the level of the literati. This part of the discussion wants to place our investigation at this level of the conflict in Yehud during the Persian period.

The Persian Period was divided into two periods; the Early Persian period (539-424) and the Late Persian period (424-333). It is worth noting that during the first period, not much took place that warrants extensive discussions concerning ideological tensions. David Talshir depicts the two divisions of the Persian period as follows:

> Archaeological evidence shows that the land of Judah was thinly populated throughout the whole of the sixth century BCE, and the first returnees of the last third of the sixth century did not leave their mark on local cultural patterns (E. Stem 1977). In contrast, the return migration of the fifth century BCE in Ezra's time entailed real change in many respects…the existence of a strong political leadership which had arisen in Yehud in the middle of the fifth century BCE. The books of Ezra-Nehemiah also testify to a substantial change in Yehud in this period. The leaders-Ezra and Nehemiah-are

> described as active in both building and settlement, as well as in social and religious reforms (2003: 252-253).

This study postulates that it is these social and religious reforms that form the backdrop of the Chronicler's theologising. During this period the amalgamation ideological strategy was dominant because it was the ideology of the ruling elite (Cezula, 2017:6). However, as Horsley indicated, the imperial support bolstered the priestly aristocrats and thus, factions were losing to the aristocrats. However, those factions which were losing to the aristocrats would also cultivate their versions of the Judahite/Israelite tradition. It is in this light that the study understands Venter's argument that during the Second Temple at least two opinions existed with regard to Judean identity. He counts Ezekiel, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah as literature with an inclination towards an exclusive view. He then identifies Ruth, Jonah, Job, Ecclesiastes and Esther as well as Deutero-canonical books such as Judith and Tobit with an inclination towards an inclusive view. This study, however, contrary to Venter's classification, places Chronicles in contradistinction to Ezra-Nehemiah. Specifically, the study places focus on Ruth, Jonah and Trito-Isaiah and, of course, Chronicles in contradistinction to Ezekiel and Ezra-Nehemiah.

An example of the kind of the theological debates that took place during the Second Temple is the concept of "all Israel". According to Ezra-Nehemiah, "all Israel" referred to Judah and Benjamin. Even in Judah and Benjamin, it considers only those who were in exile in Babylon. Examining the use of "all Israel" in Ezra-Nehemiah, Cezula states as follows:

> In five instances the concept of "all Israel" is used to depict the exiles alone (Ezra 2:70, 8:25, 10:5; Neh. 2:72 [Eng.2:73]; 12:47). In two instances, the exiles alone are referred to as the twelve tribes (Ezra 6:17; 8:35) (2013:156).

In Chronicles, on the other hand, the concept of "all Israel" comprises the pre-exilic amphyctyony of the twelve tribes. The Chronicler retells the story of the monarchy so the notion of the twelve tribes is relevant. But, the Chronicler continues to maintain this notion even in the narrative of the divided kingdom and in his own context of post-exilic times. Expressing this observation, Cezula says:

> The twelve-tribe theme in Chronicles is presented as a socio-political reality on the one hand and as an ideal that formed the basis of the Chronicler's vision of a restored Israel on the other. The references to "all Israel" in the first part of the narrative (1 Chr 10 – 2 Chr 9) appear in a narrative that depicts the united kingdom of David and Solomon. During this period the twelve tribes' existence was real and thus a socio-political reality.

> However, in the second part of the narrative (2 Chr 11 – 2 Chr 36), the united kingdom did not exist anymore, the kingdoms were separated but the sense of a twelve-tribe existence is maintained (2013:175).

The notion of the twelve tribes thus, continues to inspire the Chronicler even in his own time. It is an ideal he cherishes for his community. This is the reasoning that is discernible in the Abijah text above. In that text, Abijah appeals for the disbandment of political and the religious establishments of the north and come to join Jerusalem, their rightful political and religious home. This is the context in which the Book of Chronicles is understood in this study.

4.7 Summary and Conclusion

The previous chapter discussed de-ideologisation, Canonization and African Biblical Hermeneutics as two methodological tools and a hermeneutical stance, respectively. This chapter discussed the introductory issues of the two books that we will be discussing and also provided some historical background to these books. The chapter glances backwards in the sense that, firstly, the theologies that will be identified in the books already initiate the process of de-ideologisation which was discussed in the previous chapter. Secondly, the historical background being provided supplies material with which Canonisation, which was discussed previously, can be demonstrated. The chapter also looks forward by providing introductory issues which are the bases for major theological perspectives that the study will hold about the books.

In discharging its objective, the chapter discussed the introductory issues for Joshua, namely, date, author and purpose and theology/ideology. On the date, the study argued that the Deuteronomistic History and thus the Book of Joshua originated from two historical periods. The first one is the seventh century. Specifically, the time of Josiah was identified as the date. The second date was identified as the exilic period of the sixth century. Correspondingly, on authorship the study argued that this corpus underwent two redactions, moving away from Martin Noth's proposition that the author was a sole writer who edited the whole narrative from Joshua to 2 Kings, including Deuteronomy. On the purpose and theology, the study specified three points. These are not the only points but an exhaustive examinations of these issues cannot be done in this study.

The study identified points the legitimization of the occupation of the land as one purpose of Conquest narrative. Secondly, obedience to YHWH was also identified as the purpose. Specific to the research question, the study identified the ethnic theology of the study as exclusive. After discussing the introductory issues the study provided the historical background to the corpus.

It first provided the time of the Neo-Assyrian Empire which is the historical milieu of the first edition. It then presented the Neo-Babylonian history as the historical milieu for the second edition of the corpus. The Neo-Babylonian period was also described as the time of the beginning of tensions between the Judean exiles and those who remained behind in Judah. This was also the time in which the exiles themselves could start differing on how to relate to foreigners.

The discussion moved on to discuss Chronicles. In dealing with the date of Chronicles, the study took note of the fact that Ezra-Nehemiah is one of the sources of Chronicles and therefore Chronicles cannot be earlier than Ezra-Nehemiah. Considering a gap is that is probably reasonable for Ezra-Nehemiah distribution, the study identified approximately 350 BCE as the probable date for Chronicles. Concerning the authorship of Chronicles, the study focused on the most debated issue about the authorship of Chronicles, namely, the common authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. Separate authorship for the two corpora was viewed as most probable because of different ethnic theologies evident in the two literary productions. Notwithstanding the diversity of theological themes in Chronicles, the study opted to encapsulate them in the cover of 'rewriting" history. Concerning the theology of Chronicles, the study expressed awareness of the multiplicity of theological themes arising out of Chronicles. For the relevance of our discussion, the study identified the theological theme of peace as quite important. This theme of peace, off course, is linked to the tolerance that Chronicles exhibits towards foreigners. The study finally concluded that Chronicles entails an inclusive ethnic theology.

On the historical background of Chronicles, the Persian Period was identified as the historical milieu of Chronicles. Since approximately 350 BCE was identified as most probable, Chronicles originated in the later period of the Persian era. Standing out in this era is the religious tolerance of the imperial policy on religion and the intolerance in Yehud of religious and ethnic differences. These are the circumstances that might have influenced the author/editor of Chronicles in his writing. The next two chapters, chapters four and five, will be examining specifically the characterisation of Joshua in both corpora. Specifically, Joshua 6:1-27 and 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 will be examined.

CHAPTER FIVE

JOSHUA IN THE BOOK OF JOSHUA: JOSHUA 6:1-27

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed introductory issues concerning the Book of Joshua and the Book of Chronicles. The discussions on these introductory issues also shape the manner in which one perceives the theological/ideological matters that arise from the books. This chapter, in line with what transpired in the previous chapter, is going to examine the Characterization of Joshua, the son of Nun, in the Book of Joshua, particularly Joshua 6:1-27.[56] This exercise is meant to establish the ethnic theology that is evinced by Joshua as a character in this text. The study is convinced that the Characterization of Joshua in this chapter is a representative of such Characterization in other chapters as well. The study is also convinced that the ethnic theology exhibited by the character of Joshua is also a representative of the ethnic theology advocated by the Book of Joshua in particular, and the Deuteronomistic History in general.

Recognising the Deuteronomistic History as a major narrative corpus in the Hebrew Bible, the study finds it proper to include it as a theological resource to reckon with. This theology will be placed in comparison with the Chronistic ethnic theology which will be dealt with in the following chapter. The Chronistic History is another major narrative corpus in the Hebrew Bible thus worth to be considered for such an enterprise. All these endeavours are meant to help to empower the Old Testament reader in the quest for a proper ethnic theology for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. To initiate the discussion of this study, we try to place Joshua 6 within the broader Book of Joshua and the relevant theological tradition. Once that has been done, the discussion will proceed to the text itself, Joshua 6:1-27. Four things will happen in this phase. The first one is the verse by verse discussion of Joshua 6:1-27. Secondly, the text will be presented in both a Hebrew and an own English translation. The third one will be a summary of the narrative to assure that the text has been properly understood. The fourth one will be an analysis of the text which will culminate in the establishment of an ethnic theology advocated in this text. After this phase, the discussion will move on to discuss the Characterization of Joshua.

[56] The choice for Joshua 6:1-27 and not other texts that are violent within Joshua or the DH as a whole is because the pericope (passage) under deliberation offers a window into a theological rationale of the writer which other passages or stories within the book of Joshua do not have. For example, the theological concept of *herem* הַחֵרֶם "devoted for destruction" resonates with the concept of violence in Northern Nigeria where some people justify killing others by using the concept of *herem* הַחֵרֶם (Jihad, holy war or fighting for God).

Basically, this discussion will culminate in the disclosure of the ethnic theology exhibited by Joshua in his Characterization. This discussion will take a cumulative form, starting with the Characterization of YHWH and the Characterization of the Israelites to conclude with the Characterization of Joshua himself. Lastly, since many Old Testament readers may agree that the conquest narrative is strongly related to the Promise and the Exodus to the Promised Land, it might be revealing to examine the covenant that underlies this whole phenomenon. The reason for this exercise is that the covenant is not an uncontested concept in the OT itself. According to Walter Brueggemann, "literature that stands within the various trajectories is never sociologically disinterested nor singularly concerned with matters that are theological. Each text and each trajectory reflect important socio-economic and political concerns" (1970:162). An examination of this nature can contribute fruitfully to the broader objective of this study. A conclusion will bring the discussion to the end.

5.2 The Book of Joshua and Joshua 6:1-27

Determining or identifying the background of the book of Joshua involves some historical quest. The technical term for this historical quest is the diachronic reading of the text. Having observed previously that the text is redactional and exclusive in nature, the diachronic investigation in this chapter investigates the origin and the period from which the text was placed in its current position. Linking synchronic and diachronic reading is appropriate in an ancient text like the book of Joshua. This is because the book of Joshua has undergone a successive restructuring in the course of history. A synchronic reading of a text amounts to an analytical approach that focuses on the linguistic characteristics of the text. However, a synchronic analysis of a text is an approach that investigates the literary structure of a particular text in its current or final form. It examines the text's function in relation to its current literary position (Barr 1995:4; Kassa, 2014:16). Thus, one can say that a diachronic analysis on the other hand, focuses on the history of a text, most especially in respect to how it evolved over time. One can also said that it deals with linguistic and rhetorical features as they change through time.

In the view of Allison A Trites, the Hebrew tradition located the Book of Joshua to a corpus referred to as Former Prophets. Former Prophets entails Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel. Joshua wrote the Book of Joshua. Samuel wrote Judges and 1-2 Samuel and as well as 1-2 Kings (2000:469). However, Julius Wellhausen, contrary to tradition, re-demarcated Joshua into the Pentateuch by extending the Documentary Hypothesis to Joshua, replacing the Pentateuch with the Hexateuch (Römer, 2007:19). Describing the response to this achievement, Römer says:

> On the whole, Old Testament critical scholarship in the second half of the nineteenth century was so fascinated by the Documentary hypothesis and by the idea of an original Hexateuch, that critical research on the books of Judges to Kings was pretty much neglected (Römer, 2005:19).

Further, in 1943, Martin Noth challenged the Hexateuch theory and introduced what he termed the Deuteronomistic History theory. This theory separated Deuteronomy from the Pentateuch and enjoined it to the narratives from Joshua to 2 Kings. The Book of Joshua was thus re-demarcated again into the Deuteronomistic History. According to this view, "the books of Deuteronomy through Kings constitute a continuous history characterized by a basic homogeneity in language, style, and content (Knoppers, 2000:341). According to Noth, this was the work of an individual who wrote during the Babylonian exile. Mainly, the work was critical of Israel's history which led to the Babylonian exile.

In 1963 and 1971 Frank Moore Cross and Rudolf Smend respectively, refined this theory by identifying more than one author, leading to what became known as the Harvard and Göttingen schools, respectively (Knoppers, 2000:341-342; Römer, 2007: 27-30; McKenzie, 2010: 16-17). The Harvard school identified two redactional layers, one during the time of Josiah and one during the exile. The Göttingen School, on the other hand, identified three exilic redactional layers; the historic, nomistic and prophetic. For the purpose of our discussion, the study is not going to discuss the debates on the Deuteronomistic History exhaustively. These two schools provide enough material for our discussion. It should therefore suffice to indicate that the debates on this theory continue in terms of a single or multiple author(s) and date(s). On dates there are scholars who even introduce the post exilic era. In this regard, Thomas Römer provides a compromise by suggesting that there are actually three redactional layers corresponding to three distinct social, political and historical contexts (Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian and Persian) (2005:45-65). There are some who even question the notion of the Deuteronomistic History (e.g. Raymond Person; Kurt L Noll and others).

Returning back to the Harvard and the Göttingen schools, this study aligns itself more with the Harvard School. Specifically, the study is more persuaded by the inclusion of the Josianic era in the dating of the Deuteronomistic History. The study is comfortable with both the Josianic and the exilic dates for the Book of Joshua. With this supposition in mind, let us continue to delineate our specific text, Joshua 6:1-27. Let us start broadly and narrow down to our text. The Book of Joshua belongs to the broader corpus of the Deuteronomistic History. Within the Deuteronomistic History it occupies a specific position between the Exodus and the Settlement;

as the Conquest. The conquest of the land is therefore one of the major motifs of the book. Within the book, there are discernible cleavages that allow the division of the book into four parts. In this broader division the study follows Römer's demarcation. The first division is Joshua 1 which introduces the Book of Joshua. It is speeches by YHWH and Joshua in preparation for conquering of the land. The second division is Joshua 2-12 which is the actual action of conquering the land. The third division is the division of the conquered land among the Israelite tribes from Joshua 13-22. Lastly, Joshua 23-24 form the conclusion of the book (2007:82).

Our text is in the second division; Joshua 2-12. This division can still be subdivided into two subdivisions. In this subdivision, the study follows Bruce K Waltke. Waltke identifies two subdivisions, namely, the entry into the land and the taking of the land. The entry into the land can in turn be subdivided into three subdivisions. The three subdivisions are the spies' report (2:1–24), the crossing of the Jordan River (3:1–4:24) and the ritual preparations for the actual attack (5:1–14) (1994:236). The taking of the land is better described geographically. It started in the central part of Canaan with the fall of Jericho and Ai and the deception of Gibeon (Joshua 6, 7, 8 & 9). It then turned to the south (Joshua 10) and the north (Joshua 11). Chapter 12 is the list of kings defeated by Moses and Joshua. Our text belongs to the central campaign so our focus shifts thereto. As already indicated, the central campaign comprises of Joshua 6, 7, 8 and 9. Römer intelligibly describes these conquest accounts as:

> One in which the city is destroyed, its inhabitants and possessions are annihilated (Joshua 6); one in which the city is destroyed but some booty is seized (Josh. 8); and a third type in which the people choose to surrender and become vassals. The first type appears as a sort of Deuteronomistic 'ideal' of war… (2007:89).

The first one is Joshua 6:1-27. Römer describes it as appearing "as a sort of Deuteronomistic 'ideal' of war". Our text appears as a sort of Deuteronomistic "ideal" of war. This is a campaign our main character Joshua participates in. In this text, Joshua demonstrates a sort of Deuteronomistic "ideal" warrior. This discussion thus far should suffice to give a general picture of the Book of Joshua, particularly Joshua 6:1-27. Let us now proceed to examine Joshua 6:1-27.

5:3 Verse by verse discussion of Joshua 6:1-27

The text under investigation is presented in own verse-by-verse discussion in this section. This is because the study deals with an ancient text that obviously developed over a long period of time. The text developed from three central powers in Israel as follows: i) the king royal house,

ii) priest based on the temple cultic worship, that is to say that a priest amended the text to make cultic and ritual have weight in Israel,[57] iii) the text was amended by scribes, sages at the royal house.Thus, there is a need to translate it into the contemporary reader's language. The discussion is divided into four parts that correspond to the four section identified by Franke (2005:32-41).

5.3.1 YHWH's battle plan (6:1-7)[58]

The command Joshua received from God to have the priests and people march for seven days around Jericho demonstrates that exemption from work on the Sabbath was not an eternal precept. It shows that God's strength and presence in battle are the surest weapons to every mankind. In 6:1-17a, there is no carry-over from the spy in chapter 2. In these texts there is no hint of awareness that the investigation story has been told. In the words of Boling (1988:205), "[t]he proclamation of the ban in verses 17a admits of no exception; the city and all within it are to be destroyed." In verse 1a, two items in the text are of particular interest. Butler (1983:65) argues that the LXX is considerably shorter than MT, and the Hebrew syntax appears to go to great lengths to avoid the normal consecution of tenses. This is because the Greek text of Joshua is said to be about 4 to 5 percent shorter than the Hebrew text, with notable divergences in Joshua 5; 6; 20 and 24. The basis of the first problem must be examined in individual detail (cf Steuernagel). The second point's anew to the pressing need for renewed study of Hebrew word order in relation to syntactical meaning. Often the narrator is attempting to present several scenes with synchronous action rather than the more normal Hebrew manner of describing events in succession. The detail narration of Joshua 6:1-27 showing what happen everyday until the seventh day shows to us how the text presents different scenes instead of one continuous story.

The phrase "was shut up tight"[59] in verse 1a in Hebrew סֹגֶרֶת וּמְסֻגֶּרֶת is *sôgeret umĕsuggeret*, literally meaning, "had shut and was shut," a cliché used for emphasis. The regulations for Yahwist siege warfare distinguish between cities which lie outside the inheritance (Deuteronomy 20:10-15) and those which have belonged to one of the "seven nations"

[57] In this regard the text is said to have been amended in such a way that it is not against foreigners but to those who are against YHWH.

[58] Joshua 6:1-5, shows that Jericho resolves Israel shall not be its master. It shut itself up, being strongly fortified both by art and nature. Thus were they foolish, and their hearts hardened to their destruction; the miserable case of all that strengthen themselves against the Almighty. God resolves Israel shall be its master, and that quickly. No warlike preparations were to be made. By the uncommon method of besieging the city, YHWH honoured the ark, as the symbol of his presence, and showed that all the victories were from him. The faith and patience of the people were proved and increased.

[59] Now Jericho was shut up from within and from without "because of the *Bene* Israel" in NRSV is lacking in LXX.

(Deuteronomy 20:17, in the versions that is translations). In the latter "you shall save alive nothing that breathes" (Deuteronomy 20:16) because of what they might teach us to do (Deuteronomy 20:18). Invariably, this story concerns apparently a city in the second category. The story begins well past the beginning of the action, a favourite narrative device (Boling, 1988:205).

In verse 2, "Yahweh said to Joshua" is the sixth occurrence of the identical formula (1:1; 3:7; 4:15; and 5:9). A similar formula occurs in 5:2, where the formulation is disjunctive, meaning that YHWH addresses his field commander a total of seven times in preparation for the capture and destruction of Jericho. In the words of Boling (1988:205), "I have given into your hand"[60] is "a loan-word" or an Akkadian word which is equivalent to, in a qāti nadānu, referring to "give into the hand", which is used with reference to a god granting victory over enemies, as early as the Old Akkadian period. Moran, "The End of the Unholy War…"

Verse 3 states the basic idea of the march around Jericho, with various details supplied in the following verses. Woudstra (1981:109) submits that the cities of Palestine in that period were not large. Jericho, as of that time, measured about 225 by 80 meters and its circumference was 600 meters. The length of the column that marched around the city is not known. This would depend also on its depth. In view of the large numbers of marchers one must assume that the head of the column had long returned to the camp when the others were still marching. The subject "You" in verse 3 is plural in the first verb form (to march) but singular in the second one (to do). Such variation is a characteristic of orally transmitted material. The early Version (LXX^{L}, Syriac, and Vulgate) solves the problem by reading both verbs as plural. The translation of "March around" is governed by context. Hebrew סַבֹּתֶם sabbōtem can also mean "encircle," as in the shorter LXX Vorlage. In MT the assonance with forms of the cardinal numerals, שֵׁשֶׁת "six" (šēšet), שִׁבְעָה "seven" (šib´â and sěba´), as well as the ordinal הַשְּׁבִיעִי "the seventh" (haš-šěbîʿî), suggests that perhaps "the Sabbath" ought to be in mind here, although it is not mentioned.

There can be no doubt that the final articulation of this story was made for folk facing threat of exile, where circumcision, Passover, and Sabbath would be central to the practices of the faithful. The phrase "around the city" refers to the question of how long it would take to march around the city.[61] The instructions for marching in an orderly fashion around the city once a day

[60] The phrase "in it" is restored from LXX, omitted from MT by haplography due to homoiteleuton after mlkh.
[61] The two main verbs (March and blowing) are both second person, but the first is plural and the second singular. The text thus switches from speech to Joshua (verse 2) to speech to the warriors (verse 3) to speech to Joshua (3b). The LXX reads singular throughout, but represents a much shorter text in verses 3-5, lacking any equivalent to 3aB, b, 4. This heightens both the military march and the miraculous (the walls fall αυτομαται "by themselves, of

for six days, and then seven times on the seventh day, presuppose a situation in which the way would not be encumbered with defensive towers. It also means that the houses, and the various outbuildings that surrounded the typical city would not be hindered. In fact the bulk of the population of an ancient town lived outside the walls. In other words, these instructions presuppose that Jericho[62] is mostly ruins at the outset.

The absence of anything corresponding to verse 4[63] is another indication that LXX shows here a less "liturgical" source, which is a tradition of what was consistently regarded as a military takeover, in line with the spy story and the LXX version of the second circumcision. "Ram's horn trumpets in Hebrew שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיּוֹבְלִים šôpĕrôt hay-yôbĕlîm refers to "musical instrument of Israel." As a military instrument, the shofar was used to rally the troops (as found in Judges 3:27 & 6:34), to halt the fighting (2 Samuel 2:28, 18:16, 20:22), and to signal victory (1 Samuel 13:3). In verse 5, "all the people" means the militia and it is translated as "the whole army" in New English Bible (NEB). Verse 5 states that at the cry of the people the wall will fall flat, not outward or inward, but downward[64] meaning the walls of Jericho will collapse. This entails that wherever the people will be at that time they will climb over[65] the collapsed wall, "each man going straight ahead" (Woudstra, 1981:111).

Joshua carries out the divine command by giving charges to the priests and the people in verses 6[66] and 7. According to Woudstra (1981:111), "[i]n keeping with Hebrew narrative style these verses contain details not mentioned in the report of the Lord's words of Joshua." This narrative technique skilfully uses the same elements, adding new points as the narrative goes along. This serves to build up to an effective climax which will not occur until verse 20, when the wall's collapse is actually reported. Boling (1988:206) observes that there is no basis for the NEB translation in verse 7 which has simply interpreted a reference to the Transjordan contingents:

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their own accord," verse 5). LXX preserves narrative tension, while MT describes minute divine commandment precisely followed. The latter may represent later scribal interpretation and expansion. The expansion of the miraculous element in LXX may represent similar expansion (Butler, 1983:65).

[62] Jericho is usually identified with Tell es-Sultan, on the western outskirts of the modern city of Jericho, but the questions of identification of ancient sites continue to concern scholars. The question remains whether the Jericho that has been excavated is that of Joshua (Woudstra, 1981:108).

[63] The verse is lacking in LXX^{AB}, probably by haplography in the Vorlage: w[sbh . . . w]hyh.

[64] The phrase "when you hear the sound of the trumpet" is lacking in LXX. It is likely preserved in the MT.

[65] The Hebrew verb עלה *ala*, is used here for a cultic "going up" or "ascend" to a sanctuary. This is used as support for understanding this story in terms of "a ritual of a seven day festival." However, the verb need not to mean more climbing up to a higher location. It is also used in the sense of assault upon an enemy as found in Numbers 13:31; Judges 1:1; 12:3; 1 Samuel 14:10.

[66] In the LXX, κληθηκε "summoned" means he "went to" the priests. The two clauses, "Take up the Ark of the Covenant! Seven priests are to carry seven ram's horn trumpets ahead of YHWH Ark" is lacking in LXX.

"Then he said to the army, 'March on and make the circuit of the city, and let the men drafted from the two and a half tribes go in front of the Ark of the Lord."[67]

5.3.2 Marching around the city (6:8-14)

Verse 8[68] speaks first of the ark's role in the procession, even though verse 7 reports that the armed men are to head the column. This narrative feature highlights the importance of the ark in this event. Moreover, the narrator is conscious of the close association between the ark and deity: the priests who carry seven horns do so before YHWH, for the ark is YHWH's ark, and he is identified with it (Numbers 10:35-36; 2 Samuel 6:14). The above reflection shows that the ark does not follow the priests as if by locomotion, although it is actually borne by the priests (Numbers 10:33). The inverted Hebrew word order in the first sentence (wsb hkhnym … brw) ends with a verb in the perfect: עברדירה "moved out." This is disjunctive syntax which indicates non-sequential action. The phrase והמנשבו"they blew" is a non-converted perfect tense used at the outset here, and yields a chiastic relationship in the two sentences (Boling, 1988:206 and Woudstra, 1981:11).

The presence of a rear guard is introduced in verse 9. The verse shows how, bit by bit, details of the order of March are supplied; while they are not a secondary element supplied by a later hand. The NRSV records the verse as follows: "But Joshua commanded the people, 'You shall not shout or let your voice be heard, neither shall any word go out of your mouth, until the day I bid you shout; then you shall shout.'"[69]The procession was to take place in complete silence, with only the horns giving forth their sound. The people were to wait for a signal from Joshua, upon which they are to raise the shout (Woudstra, 1981:112). The shift to the partial form in Hebrew signals action that is simultaneous with the several non-sequential actions reported in the preceding verse. In agreement with Boling (1988:206), the above assertion shows a very

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[67] The pronoun "he" follows the *qere wy'mr*, against the plural spelling of the *kethib wy'mrw*. For the latter seems to read an imperative w'mrw. "Command them" agrees with LXX, from which the shorter text of MT may be derived, but not vice versa, wymr l [yhm sww t] hm. This looks odd in favour of the haplography which would have been even greater if the text were written in pre-exilic orthography, without internal vowel letters such as the y in lyhm. The plural form of the verb in MT (wymrw) would thus be an attempt to clarify after the accident. The qere (wymr) supported by Syriac, Targum, and Vulgate is to be preferred (Boling, 1988:202).

[68] Now … In agreement with LXX, this omits the first phrase in MT: "And when Joshua had spoken [MT kmr, mss bmr] to the people." The latter is perhaps best explained as a secondary development, after the corruption which shifted the object of Joshua's address from the priests to the people in verse 7. "Seven priests," the indefinite noun is found in LXX, where the seven priests have not been previously mentioned. The ram's horn trumpets are definite also only in Hebrew, not in Greek. יְהוָה "Yahweh" is "Yahweh's Ark" in some manuscripts and versions is euphemistic. Them, verse 9 follows MT, where LXX reflects a complex history of corruption and "correction," approximately as follows. A haplography, skipping from the first to the second occurrence of שׁוֹפָרוֹת *soparot*, dropped all reference to the rear-guard. The verse was subsequently improved to read in the Greek text: "The armed guard marched ahead, with the priests marching after the ark of the Lord's Covenant-blowing continually" (Boling, 1988:202-203).

[69] "Not a word is to come from your mouth" is lacking in LXX^{AB}, which also lacks the mechanism for haplography here. MT is perhaps a conflation.

busy scene and is rendered as "was marching." The Hebrew word הָלֹוךְ וְתָקֹועַ "ha-lok wetaqoa" means "marching while blowing."[70] These are two infinitives absolute. It is noteworthy that varied use of the infinitive absolute is one of the stylistic features of this chapter 6 of Joshua. Here, the first of the two may refer not to a simultaneous action but to progression; the blowing became louder and louder.

The emphasis upon the ark's role is continued in verse 11.[71] At this point, Joshua makes the ark go round the city and all other elements must take second place. Other ark stories display the same usage "he sent … around" which is a *Hiphil wayyiqtol* of וַיַּסֵּב *sbb,* as found in 1 Samuel 5:9-10. In those stories earth-shaking shouts greet the ark as it enters the camp of Israel (1 Samuel 4:1-9). The phrase הם מחנות "the camp" is assumed by the ancient editor to mean that it was at hag-gilgal ("The Circle") as demonstrated throughout this and the following stories. The usage is seen in Joshua 10:15, 43. This is to say that when the march is done the people return to the camp at Gilgal (this is seen in 5:10). Since the city was small it must be assumed that the frontline had a long returned when the others were still marching. To make the most of the dramatic build-up before the actual climax of the story, the account now describes the events of the second day (Woudstra, 1981:112 and Boling, 1988:206-207).

The NRSV has "Then Joshua rose early in the morning, and the priests took up the ark of the Lord" as verse 12. The verse is similar with 3:1, and 6:15 showing how Joshua was busy: "Joshua rose early in the morning."[72] The Hebrew word הֹלְכִים הָלֹוךְ *holekim halok* in verse 13[73] mean "keeping step marched forth." Here the finite verb is followed by its own infinitive absolute used adverbially, evoking a sense of a solemn procession (Boling, 1988: 207). "And the second day they marched around the city once, and returned into the camp. So they did for six days," (verse 14 in NRSV).[74]

5.3.3 The walls of Jericho Fall (6:15-21)

A sudden acceleration in the narrative begins in verse 15. The presence of a wayigtol in this verse shows the flow of events and it intensity. The reader is now brought close to the dramatic moment of the collapse of the wall. Instead of a lengthy description of the seven circuits of the march around the town, only a terse statement that this sevenfold encirclement took place is

[70] The phrase "who were blowing" is the qere, supported by Syriac and Targum, against the kethib, "they blew."
[71] "He sent", the form is hiphil (MT), not qal (as reflected in LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate).
[72] "Morning", LXX specifies "on the second day" at the beginning of the verse.
[73] The phrase "ram's horn trumpets" renders MT soperot hay-yobelim. This is in place of the second word, LXX^{AB} and Syriac translate holekim, "marching," which comes four words later in MT but is missing at that point in the version. YHWH is "Yahweh's Ark" in some mss and versions; cf verse 8.
[74] On the second day, in LXX^{AB} this specification occurs at the beginning of verse 12.

given.[75] "They got up at daybreak" is a verb rendered in Hebrew הִשְׁכִּמ as hskm construed with כַּעֲלוֹת הַשַּׁחַר klwt hshr, literally, "rising of the dawn", in contrast of fall down to verse 12, and it means "to arise early". It was only on seventh[76] day that they were to matched around the city seven times. The Hebrew word רַקְ *rag* meaning "only" shows the significance of seven – complete. This meant that the seventh day would be the busiest of all, and they would need to get an early start.

Joshua tells the people to amplify the shout in verse 16, as seen in verses 5, and 10. "And at the seventh time, when the priests had blown the trumpets, Joshua said to the people, "Shout; for the LORD has given you the city" (NRSV). There is a reminder of God's "giving" of the city (verse 2; cf 8:1, 18; Judges 3:28; 4:7; 7:9, 15; 1 Samuel 23:4 and many others). The symbolic nature of Jericho's fall, historical though it be, should always be remembered. As such, the very first city of the Promised Land was to be Israel's by mere shout raised at the command of Joshua, the servant of YHWH. Verse 17 shows that the symbolic nature of this event is also expressed by the fact that the curse applied to Jericho and its inhabitants as most severe (Woudstra, 1981:112-113). In 17b-25, in this part the siege of Jericho is connected in two directions. The narrative picks up the thread of the spy story in chapter 2 and lays the groundwork for the story of Achan in chapter 7. The adverb "only" describes "Rahab the harlot and all who are with her in her house shall live, because she hid the messengers that was sent"[77] in 17b in which the syntax seems to be sharply subjunctive. The role of Rahab in this study is that she was later included in the episode of Joshua 6:1-27 to tame the text. Her inclusion in this pericope is to give an impression that Joshua 6 is not anti-foreigner. The Hebrew word הַחֵרֶם "herem" means "ban." To emphasize the implication where the *herem* is involved, one can see the story of the break between Samuel and Saul in 1 Samuel 15. Boling (1988:207) argues that the concept הַחֵרֶם *herem* was not a uniquely Israelite word or practice. For example, the ninth-century Moabite king Mesha, speaks thus of "devoting" the Israelites to his god Chemosh.

[75] At the end of the sevenfold encirclement the entire marching column, with the heavily armed contingent closest to the city, may have stood around Jericho's walls, ready to raise the shout. According to Woudstra (1981:112), if the above is correct then it is a plausible reconstruction of events. In the usual manner the Hebrew word kmspt hzh has no reflex in LXX. Seven or "Six," both time are in LXX^{B}. Only on that day did they march around the city seven times. This is because of the haplography, LXX^{AB} show no reflex of this: pmym [. . . pmym] (Boling, 1988:203).

[76] Seven is a perfect number meaning complete. After completing the ceration, God rested on the Seventh day – Sabath day. Sorrounding the city seven times connotes completeness and this is substantiated by the falling down of Jericho.

[77] The clause "because she hid the messengers whom we sent" is lacking in the LXX due to haplography: rq [rhb . . . wrq] tm. The word "hid" is in the form of hehbiah as in verse 25. The anomalous hehbatah results from a partial dittography of the following particle t, before final vowel letters (h in this case) were added (Boling, 1988:203).

Verse 18 talks about "something banned", referring to the word *herem* הַחֵרֶם (things devoted to God for destruction) which was used in the text and four times in the MT (Utley, 1996:62). The word was used in quick succession so as to establish a relation with the final verb in the sentence (trouble) or making trouble for it. In Hebrew *wkrtm wtw* (וְעָכַרְתֶּם אוֹתוֹ). Thus, the concept הַחֵרֶם "herem" in Joshua refers to holy war where everything in the city of Jericho that breathed must die because it is given to God and, therefore, it becomes too holy for human use. It means that it was supposed to be given to God rather than being used by humans. The one exception is Rahab, the harlot, and her family, because of the help she gave to the spies and their oath in YHWH's name to protect her. Again, her inclusion shows that not all the people in Jericho were completely destroyed and also to tame the text. Furthermore, it is meant to make the text not to be antiforeigner. In essence, the report of Joshua's words concerning the curse and what it entails is completed in verses 18-19.

Israel is to keep itself clean from the accursed things, which had been devoted to YHWH (Leviticus 27:28). As executors of the curse, Israel itself would become subject to the curse and thus bring trouble on the camp, if it partook in the devoted things.[78] This strict prohibition explains the story of Achan found in chapter 7. The only things that were to be kept from destruction were the metals, silver, gold and everything of bronze and iron. These things mentioned above were not a herem but was to go into the treasury of YHWH (Numbers 31:54; cf 1 Kings 7:51; 1 Chronicles 29:8). This expression is general enough to designate all that is required for carrying out YHWH's service. All the aforementioned materials were to be set apart (in Hebrew qodesh, literally it means "a holy thing" as found in Joshua 5:15).[79] The Hebrew word קדוש q*odesh* in this regard means a consecrated possession that is the things not devoted for destruction. It could could also mean separation, withdrawal, consecrate, sacredness or to set apart different from herem which "devoted things." The gold, bronze, metals were be useful in the temple for YHWH (Brown, 2000:871; Holladay, 1971:315 and Davidson, 1848:654).[80]

[78] This is LXX, which reflects thmdw against MT thrymw (lest you covet). The former presumably arose out of a scribal preoccupation with the Achan's story which comes next and to which this is introduction. The letters d and r were not infrequently confused, especially in worn manuscripts.

[79] Life in Israel was divided into "holy" and "profane" that is common, accessible zones. Zechariah 14:20-21 sees this line of demarcation disappear in the great future. All will be permeated with the spirit of the holy. This time, however, has not yet arrived in Joshua's day. Things devoted to destruction will be holy to YHWH.

[80] This scenario makes someone to ponder and as well remember that Scriptures are meant to be meditate despite their seeming ambiguities.

Verses 19[81] and 20 refers to "treasury" and "The priests blew the trumpets".[82] The Hebrew word אוֹצָר *osar* refers to a vivid description in later prophecy of the way YHWH's wealth is to be acquired. This is by appropriating the proceeds from the harlot Tyre's international "hire" which are not kept stored לַיהוָה אוֹצָר (*lo ye aser*) but used "for those who dwell before the Lord," as found in Isaiah 23:18. When the priests blew the trumpets, the wall of Jericho collapsed. Against efforts to analyse the several processions, horn blasts, and war whoops as reflecting two or more documentary sources is the fact that after the repetitive build-up, this great and colossal event is only "reported in one brief and unadorned statement." On the other hand, Hess (2009) submits verse 20 shows that the wall of Jericho collapsed. Like the miracoulous crossing of the Jordan River, wall of Jericho collapsing indicates God's presence with his people and the futility of resistance on the side of the Canaanites.

Verse 21 is referred as "at the mouth of the sword!" This verse is indeed a horrific text. It can be likened as a "text of terror" like in the case of Judges 19-21 (Cezula, 2018:11 and Brenner, 2000:172). Boling (1988:209) submits that the exact meaning of "at the mouth of the sword" is not clear. This is because ancient swords have been excavated in which the blade comes out of a shaft to form the tongue of an animal whose head appears at the handle to have been excavated. On the other hand, the frequency of the expression construed with the verb להכות "to smite" suggests that the expression originated in the use of the sickles word.[83] For Cezula (2018:3), "Joshua 6:21 is the culmination of a long narrative which starts with the promise of land made to Abraham in Genesis 12:1–3 and 7)."

5.3.4 The destruction of Jericho (22-27)

The phrase אָמַר "had said" in verse 22 is in qal qatal perfect third person masculine singular and the syntax can be referred as disjunctive. However, the narrator has reasons for not putting the verb first in the sentence. The narrative now comes to its decisive point in verses 21 and 22. The people shout while the horns sound. Joshua's signal as well as the long blast upon the horn makes them raise the war cry. Just as in verse 15, there is now a sudden acceleration of the pace

[81] In this verse, "they are to go" in Hebrew *yabo* is here used impersonally and might be properly rendered as passive in Greek. There is no need to posit a form *yuba* behind LXX.

[82] "The priests", this is LXX. In the MT the priests are displaced by a conflation of two ways of referring to the shouting of the people: wyr hm (singular) and wtryw hm (plural). The phrase "and took the city" is missing in the LXX due to haplography: wy[lkdw . . .

[83] "They" in LXX^{AB} the subject is singular and explicit: referring to "Joshua". In verse 22; cf 2:12, Rahab's rescue is connected with two things: the oath the two men had sworn to her, and the kind act she had performed (6:17). Obviously, the two related and are already connected in chapter 2. "They" in LXX^{B} the subject is singular and explicit: referring to "Joshua". "The land" is missing in LXX^{AB}, thanks probably to haplography in the Vorlage, [t hrs]mr, although it might also be internal to the Greek where there are four consecutive words ending in n, to account for the loss of *ten ge.* "Harlot's" because of haplography in LXX Vorlage, she is not "the woman, the harlot" (so the Hebrew literally), but simply "the woman": hs[hhzwn]h. "As you swore to her) in the LXX reveals another haplography: t kl sr [lh Ksr nsb tm] lh.

of the narrative, showing the master's hand. The slow, deliberate description of the city's seven-day encirclement, coupled with the lengthy exposure of what the people are to do when the miracle occurs, is replaced by the quick strokes of the pen (brush) applied in verse 20: the horns, the shout, falling flat of the walls, the storming of the city and its capture. All is recited in just a few brief words (Woudstra, 1981:114). Following the walls of Jericho falling flat, the people of Israel make a frontal assault upon the city and put to death anything that has life. In verse 23, "the young spies" in the Hebrew rendering הַנְּעָרִים הַמְרַגְּלִים, hnrym hmrglym literally mean, "the young men, the spies", referring to "two men" in Joshua 2:1.[84]

The city of Jericho is burned in verse 24.[85] The story of Jericho's complete destruction is continued in this verse. Fire is applied to the doomed city to wipe its memory from the earth. The metals specified in verse 19 are put into the treasury of the house of YHWH. This is like the treatment of Hazor in the far north (11:11), which is presented as an exception to the general rule that "all the cities standing on mound" the Israelite did not burn. In verse 25, Rahab the harlot is spared.[86] Rahab was the first Canaanite whom the Israelites encounter in the land and declares that YHWH has given Israel the land (Pressler, 2008:410). Her speech was fulfilled in 2:9-13. As such, while her precise profession of faith in YHWH may be an anachronism, there can be no doubt of her conversion and eventual assimilation into the Israelite community. Again, we can see from the two phrases היא שוכנת "she dwells" with her descendant's and עד אֶת־הַמַּלְאָכִים כה"to this day" that God kept his covenant and Rahab and her household survived the destruction of Jericho. Many take the expression about the confirmation that Rahab and her household was spared to be an indication of the etiological nature of the early story and as well to make the text looks inclusive (4:9; 5:9). The story is rather used to confirm the historical legitimacy of the event just reported.[87] Rahab's demonstration of faith in YHWH forms a chiasm as seen below from K. Lwason Younger Jr (2003:176):

A Rahab's confession: "I know that YHWH has given this land to you" (2:9a)

B Military information: "all are melting in fear" (2:9b)

[84] "Went in", shows continuity in the LXX "to the city and to the harlot's house," compensating for the loss from the previous verse. "All who belong to her" referring to all her relatives in LXX has the two phrases reversed: "all her relatives and all who belonged to her." Again, "they brought out" is lacking in LXX, this may well be secondary in MT (Boling, 1988:204).

[85] The word "house" is lacking in the LXX.

[86] The pronoun "her" in LXX has "all" her father's house, possibibly contamination from the phrase, which was subsequently lost by haplography in the Hebrew Vorlage: wt-bt-by[h w t kl sr l]h. But conflation cannot be rule out. "Messengers" is the Hebrew hml kym, in place of which LXX reflects hmrgylm, "the spies," under the influence of the root rgl later in the sentence.

[87] On the implications of the use of this recurrent phrase for questions of authorship and date cf Aalders, op. cit p 164. Goslinga, op. cit., p. 14, believes that the expression as used here must mean that Rahab was still living when the book of Joshua was written. The NEB reads that Rahab "settled permanently among the Israelites."

C Summary of YHWH's mighty deeds: the Red Sea and Transjordanian kings (2:10)

B´ Military information: "all are melting in fear (2:11a)

A´ Rahab's confession: "for Yahweh your God is God in heaven above and on below" (2:11b). Cf. Deuteronomy 4:39.

The above chiasm shows Rahab's loyalty and kindness (*hesed*) confession which is anticipatory on two counts: 1. The disposition of the enemy-"melting in fear of the Israelites"- is anticipatory of the "hearing and fearing" expressed in Joshua 5:1; 6:1; 9:1-3; 10:1-2; 11:1-5. This theme ties the "conquest" section of the book together. 2. YHWH's power over "heaven and earth" is anticipatory of the Divine Warrior's mighty actions: once at the Jordan, once at Jericho, and twice in the skies over Gibeon (Younger, 2003:176).

The event described in verse 26 is unique in the OT.[88] Nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible has a city's rebuilder anticipating and answering objections in advance been cursed. The phrase "administered an oath" in Hebrew וַיַּשְׁבַּע *way-yasba* refers to "causing swearing." While "at that time" denotes that since no specific day reference is given, it is assumed that all the events of chapter 6, excluding of course the flashback to Rahab's activity in chapter 2, belong to the second period of seven days (Boling, 1988:210). By means of a solemn oath Joshua finally pronounces a curse upon Jericho so that it will never be rebuilt. This rule of permanent desolation of a wicked city is applied also to any city in Israel that had departed from the covenant (Deuteronomy 13:16). Curses and blessings must be seen as the potent and efficacious means whereby YHWH intends to affect the weal and woe of those who fear him and those who do not. This must be viewed in the sense of a prayer rather than a magical incantation. Nevertheless, the effect of curses and blessings is no less great than that which magic ascribes them. The bearer of the powerful "word" is YHWH, who created the world by speaking only a word (Psalm 33:6). No one can curse if YHWH does not curse (Numbers 23: 8a). This is why the curse by God to the Canaanites works otherwise it would have been a failure on the side of the Israelites.

In that conviction Joshua now pronounces a curse on Jericho. The city's fall was symbolic of what would happen to Canaan as a whole (Woudstra, 1981:116). "Cursed be the man" as represented in verse 26, connotes a polemic designed to prevent the Israelites settlement at the newly conquered site. Joshua presumably gave the whole people the oath, meaning it was self-

[88] This verse also appears in the remarkable sectarian document from Qumran, now known as 4Q Testimonia. The phrase "before Yahweh" agrees with LXX, which omits these words from the quotation but includes them in the rubrics. The word "Jericho" in Hebrew t yryhw, is lacking in LXX^{A}. The word was originally a marginal note. While "gates" is longer in the LXX, showing how the curse "came true," in a variation of 1 Kings 16:34 (Boling, 1988:204).

imprecation. In essence, anyone who attempts to build up the city will be condemned (Franke, 2005:41). In the last verse of Joshua 6 which is 27, the word "with" in Hebrew `t אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת (with Joshua) is used in the text to form an inclusio with the more common 'm, עִמְּ which occurs as part of a promise in YHWH's introductory speech (1:9), and the Transjordan tribes' introductory hope (1:7). This portrayed divine support culminating in the self-discipline shown by the act of cursing Jericho, which was shocking in effect. It concludes that Joshua's fame was countrywide due to his victory over Jericho in Hebrew :יְהִי יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וַיְהִי שָׁמְעוֹ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ.

Verse 27 refers to the fear of the Canaanite population ("their hearts melted") (Utley, 1988:63). Invariably, the account of Jericho's fall concludes with a reference to YHWH being with Joshua and to the spreading of his fame through the whole country.[89] This agrees with one of the recurring emphases of the book (1:5, 3:7, 4:14: also in 2:10-11, 5:1). In this regard, there is a certain triumphant note to the book of Joshua. Israel's leadership is in good and firm hands of YHWH. This is attested to by God's great act in bringing about Jericho's fall. No hero-worship is intended, as can be seen from the frank exposure of Joshua's weakness in Chapter 7 (cf also 9:14-15).

5.4 Translation of the text/textual analysis of Joshua 6:1-27

Our analysis will be in three phases. We will start by presenting the text in Hebrew and English. The English translation will be the researcher's own translation. We will then follow with the summary of the text. The summary demonstrates how the researcher understands the narrative. The summary, of course, is informed by the translation. The stance a translation takes on exegetical contestations during the translation process manifest itself in the summary. For this reason, a summary is important to show how the text is understood by the researcher. The third and the final phase in this section will be the analysis of our text.

5.4.1 Table 1. Own translation of Joshua 6: 1-27

Verses	Hebrew Text[90]	English Translation
1	וִיְרִיחוֹ סֹגֶרֶת וּמְסֻגֶּרֶת מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֵין יוֹצֵא וְאֵין בָּא: ס	And Jericho was tightly shut up because of the children of Israel; none went out and none came in.
2	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ רְאֵה נָתַתִּי בְיָדְךָ אֶת־יְרִיחֹ וְאֶת־מַלְכָּהּ גִּבּוֹרֵי הֶחָיִל:	And YHWH said to Joshua, "See, I have given into your hand Jericho along with its king and mighty men of valor.

[89] Whereas "his fame was country-wide" refers to Joshua since Rahab has already testified that YHWH's fame had preceded him (Boling, 1988:210).

[90] All Hebrew texts are copied directly from BHS Logos edition by Anon, 2012. The Lexham Hebrew Bible, Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press.

3	וְסַבֹּתֶם אֶת־הָעִיר כָּל אַנְשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה הַקֵּיף אֶת־ הָעִיר פַּעַם אֶחָת כֹּה תַּעֲשֶׂה שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים:	And you shall go round the city, all the men of war circling the city once. Thus you shall do for six days.
4	וְשִׁבְעָה כֹהֲנִים יִשְׂאוּ שִׁבְעָה שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיֹּבְלִים לִפְנֵי הָאָרֹון וּבַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי תָּסֹבּוּ אֶת־הָעִיר שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים וְהַכֹּהֲנִים יִתְקְעוּ בַּשּׁוֹפָרוֹת:	And seven priests shall bear seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark. And on the seventh day you shall go around the city seven times, and the priests shall blow the trumpets.
5	וְהָיָה בִּמְשֹׁךְ ׀ בְּקֶרֶן הַיּוֹבֵל ׀ בְּשָׁמְעֲכֶם ׀ כְּשָׁמְעֲכֶם֮ אֶת־קוֹל הַשּׁוֹפָר יָרִיעוּ כָל־הָעָם תְּרוּעָה גְדוֹלָה וְנָפְלָה חוֹמַת הָעִיר תַּחְתֶּיהָ וְעָלוּ הָעָם אִישׁ נֶגְדּוֹ:	And it shall come to pass, when they make a blast with the ram's horn, as soon as you hear the sound of the trumpet, then all the people shall shout with a great shout; and the wall of the city will fall down flat, and "the people shall ascend, each man straight ahead."
6	וַיִּקְרָא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בִּן־נוּן אֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם שְׂאוּ אֶת־אֲרֹון הַבְּרִית וְשִׁבְעָה כֹהֲנִים יִשְׂאוּ שִׁבְעָה שׁוֹפְרוֹת יוֹבְלִים לִפְנֵי אֲרֹון יְהוָה:	Now Joshua son of Nun called the priests and said to them, "Take up the ark of the covenant, and let seven priests carry seven trumpets of rams' horns in front of the ark of YHWH."
7	וַיֹּאמְרוּ ׀ אֶל־הָעָם֮ עִבְרוּ וְסֹבּוּ אֶת־ הָעִיר וְהֶחָלוּץ יַעֲבֹר לִפְנֵי אֲרֹון יְהוָה:	He said to the people, go ahead and go around the city; and let him who is armed ahead before the ark of the YHWH.
8	וַיְהִי כֶּאֱמֹר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ֮ אֶל־הָעָם֒ וְשִׁבְעָה הַכֹּהֲנִים נֹשְׂאִים שִׁבְעָה שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיֹּבְלִים לִפְנֵי יְהוָה עָבְרוּ וְתָקְעוּ בַּשּׁוֹפָרוֹת וַאֲרוֹן בְּרִית יְהוָה הֹלֵךְ אַחֲרֵיהֶם:	And it came to pass, when Joshua had spoken to the people that the seven priests carrying the seven trumpets of rams' horns before YHWH they went ahead and blew the trumpets, and the ark of the covenant of YHWH followed them.
9	וְהֶחָלוּץ הֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים ׀ תֹּקְעִי֣ם ׀ הַשּׁוֹפָרוֹת וְהַמְאַסֵּף הֹלֵךְ אַחֲרֵי הָאָרֹון הָלוֹךְ וְתָקוֹעַ בַּשּׁוֹפָרוֹת:	And the armed men went before the priests that blew with the trumpets; and the rear guard went after the ark, while the priests continually blowing the trumpets.
10	וְאֶת־הָעָם֙ צִוָּה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ֮ לֵאמֹר֒ לֹא תָרִיעוּ וְלֹא־ תַשְׁמִיעוּ אֶת־קוֹלְכֶם וְלֹא־יֵצֵא מִפִּיכֶם דָּבָר עַד יֹום אָמְרִי אֲלֵיכֶם הָרִיעוּ וַהֲרִיעֹתֶם:	And Joshua commanded the people, saying, "You shall not shout or let your voice be heard, nor shall you utter a word, until the day I say to you to shout. Then you shall shout."
11	וַיַּסֵּב אֲרוֹן־יְהוָה אֶת־הָעִיר הַקֵּף פַּעַם אֶחָת וַיָּבֹאוּ הַמַּחֲנֶה וַיָּלִינוּ בַּמַּחֲנֶה: פ	So he made the ark of YHWH go around the city, circling it once; and they came into the camp, and lodged the night in the camp.

12	וַיַּשְׁכֵּם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בַּבֹּקֶר וַיִּשְׂאוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה׃	And Joshua rose early in the morning, and the priests took up the ark of YHWH.
13	וְשִׁבְעָה הַכֹּהֲנִים נֹשְׂאִים שִׁבְעָה שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיֹּבְלִים לִפְנֵי אֲרוֹן יְהוָה הֹלְכִים הָלוֹךְ וְתָקְעוּ בַּשּׁוֹפָרוֹת וְהֶחָלוּץ הֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵיהֶם וְהַמְאַסֵּף הֹלֵךְ אַחֲרֵי אֲרוֹן יְהוָה ׀ הוֹלֵךְ ׀ "הָלוֹךְ" וְתָקוֹעַ בַּשּׁוֹפָרוֹת׃	And the seven priests carrying the seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark of YHWH went on, continually blowing the trumpets. And the armed men went before them, and the rear guard went after the ark of YHWH, while the trumpets blew continually.
14	וַיָּסֹבּוּ אֶת־הָעִיר בַּיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי פַּעַם אַחַת וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הַמַּחֲנֶה כֹּה עָשׂוּ שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים׃	And they went around the city on the second day once and then returned into the camp. So they did for six days.
15	וַיְהִי בַיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וַיַּשְׁכִּמוּ כַּעֲלוֹת הַשַּׁחַר וַיָּסֹבּוּ אֶת־הָעִיר כַּמִּשְׁפָּט הַזֶּה שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים רַק בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא סָבְבוּ אֶת־הָעִיר שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים׃	And it came to pass on the seventh day they rose early, at the dawning of the day, and went around the city in the same manner seven times. Only on the seventh day that they went around the city seven times.
16	וַיְהִי בַּפַּעַם הַשְּׁבִיעִית תָּקְעוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים בַּשּׁוֹפָרוֹת וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־הָעָם הָרִיעוּ כִּי־נָתַן יְהוָה לָכֶם אֶת־הָעִיר׃	And it came to pass, at the seventh time, when the priests had blown the trumpets, Joshua said to the people, "Shout! For YHWH has given you the city.
17	וְהָיְתָה הָעִיר חֵרֶם הִיא וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ לַיהוָה רַק רָחָב הַזּוֹנָה תִּחְיֶה הִיא וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר אִתָּהּ בַּבַּיִת כִּי הֶחְבְּאָתָה אֶת־הַמַּלְאָכִים אֲשֶׁר שָׁלָחְנוּ׃	And the city and all that is in it shall be devoted to YHWH for destruction. Only Rahab the harlot and all who are with her in her house shall live because she hid the messengers we sent.
18	וְרַק־אַתֶּם שִׁמְרוּ מִן־הַחֵרֶם פֶּן־תַּחֲרִימוּ וּלְקַחְתֶּם מִן־הַחֵרֶם וְשַׂמְתֶּם אֶת־מַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל לְחֵרֶם וַעֲכַרְתֶּם אוֹתוֹ׃	And as for you in any way, you shall keep away from the things devoted to destruction, so you do not devote to destruction and take any of the devoted things and make the camp of Israel devoted to destruction, bringing trouble upon it.
19	וְכָל־כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב וּכְלֵי נְחֹשֶׁת וּבַרְזֶל קֹדֶשׁ הוּא לַיהוָה אוֹצַר יְהוָה יָבוֹא׃	But all the silver and gold and vessels of bronze and iron, are consecrated to YHWH; they shall go into the treasury of YHWH."
20	וַיָּרַע הָעָם וַיִּתְקְעוּ בַּשֹּׁפָרוֹת וַיְהִי כִּשְׁמֹעַ הָעָם אֶת־קוֹל הַשּׁוֹפָר וַיָּרִיעוּ הָעָם תְּרוּעָה גְדוֹלָה וַתִּפֹּל הַחוֹמָה תַּחְתֶּיהָ וַיַּעַל הָעָם הָעִירָה אִישׁ נֶגְדּוֹ וַיִּלְכְּדוּ אֶת־הָעִיר׃	So the people shouted, and the trumpets were blown. And it came to pass, as soon as the people heard the sound of the trumpets, they shouted a great shout, and the wall fell down flat; so the people went up into the city, every man straight ahead and they took the city.

21	וַיַּחֲרִימוּ אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר בָּעִיר מֵאִישׁ וְעַד־אִשָּׁה מִנַּעַר וְעַד־זָקֵן וְעַד שׁוֹר וָשֶׂה וַחֲמוֹר לְפִי־חָרֶב:	And they devoted to destruction by the edge of the sword all that was in the city, both men and women, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkeys.
22	וְלִשְׁנַיִם הָאֲנָשִׁים הַמְרַגְּלִים אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אָמַר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בֹּאוּ בֵית־הָאִשָּׁה הַזּוֹנָה וְהוֹצִיאוּ מִשָּׁם אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לָהּ כַּאֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתֶּם לָהּ:	And to the two men who had spied out the land, Joshua said "Go into the harlot's house, and bring the woman out of it and all who belong to her, as you swore to her."
23	וַיָּבֹאוּ הַנְּעָרִים הַמְרַגְּלִים וַיּוֹצִיאוּ אֶת־רָחָב וְאֶת־אָבִיהָ וְאֶת־אִמָּהּ וְאֶת־אַחֶיהָ וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לָהּ וְאֵת כָּל־מִשְׁפְּחוֹתֶיהָ הוֹצִיאוּ וַיַּנִּיחוּם מִחוּץ לְמַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל:	And the young men that were spies went in and brought Rahab out, along with her father, her mother, her brothers, and all who belonged to her; they brought all her kindred out and set them outside the camp ofIsrael.
24	וְהָעִיר שָׂרְפוּ בָאֵשׁ וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בָּהּ רַק הַכֶּסֶף וְהַזָּהָב וּכְלֵי הַנְּחֹשֶׁת וְהַבַּרְזֶל נָתְנוּ אוֹצַר בֵּית־יְהוָה:	And the city they burnt with fire and everything in it; only the silver and the gold and the vessels of bronze and of iron they put into the treasury of the house of the YHWH.
25	וְאֶת־רָחָב הַזּוֹנָה וְאֶת־בֵּית אָבִיהָ וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לָהּ הֶחֱיָה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וַתֵּשֶׁב בְּקֶרֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה כִּי הֶחְבִּיאָה אֶת־הַמַּלְאָכִים אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לְרַגֵּל אֶת־יְרִיחוֹ: פ	And Rahab the harlot, and the house of her father and all who belonged to her, Joshua preserved. And she has dwelt in the midst of Israel ever since. Because she hid the messengers that Joshua sent to spy out Jericho.
26	וַיַּשְׁבַּע יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בָּעֵת הַהִיא לֵאמֹר[91] אָרוּר הָאִישׁ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר יָקוּם וּבָנָה אֶת־הָעִיר הַזֹּאת אֶת־יְרִיחוֹ בִּבְכֹרוֹ יְיסְדֶנָּה וּבִצְעִירוֹ יַצִּיב דְּלָתֶיהָ:	And Joshua pronounced this oath, saying, "Cursed is the man before YHWH who rises up and builds this city, Jericho! With his firstborn he shall lay the foundation, and with his youngest son he shall set up the gates!"
27	וַיְהִי יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וַיְהִי שָׁמְעוֹ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ:	So YHWH was with Joshua; and his fame was throughout in the land.

5.4.2 Summary of Joshua 6:1-27

Now that the translation has been done, let us proceed to the summary of the text. When the Israelites approached Jericho, the city was closed, securely closed. No one entered or exited. While the atmosphere was still tense, YHWH spoke to Joshua. He assured him that He, YHWH, has handed over Jericho to him and the Israelites, including Jericho's king and soldiers. YHWH then gave instructions to Joshua. He instructed that once a day for six days, they would have to

[91] LXX adds explicit reference to the fulfilment of the curse, taken from 1 Kings 16:34, another example of scribal interpretation of the text to show explicit fulfilment.

march around the city and all warriors going around the city. Seven priests would bear seven trumpets before the ark. On the seventh day they would march around the city seven times and then the priests would blow the trumpets. When the priests made a long blast with the trumpets and the Israelites heard the sound, all of them would have to shout a great shout with one voice and the wall of the city would fall down. When that had happened, everyone would have to go up straight before him.

Having heard the instruction, Joshua called the priests and instructed them to take up the Ark of the Covenant and also let seven priests to bear trumpets in front of the Ark of the Covenant. To the people he instructed that they go forward and march around the city, letting the warriors to pass on before the Ark of the Covenant. Behind the Ark of the Covenant would follow the rest of the people. The procession would be as follows: The warriors at the front, the priests behind the warriors, the Ark of the Covenant behind the priests and the people behind the Ark of the Covenant. The trumpets would be blowing continually while no person would utter even a word. After Joshua had finished giving instructions they moved to the camp and spent the night there.

The following morning Joshua woke up early and every segment took up their positions as instructed. They marched around Jericho according to the instructions. The following day they did the same for six days. On the seventh day they rose at the dawn of the day and marched around the city in the same manner seven times. Only on the seventh day did they march around the city seven times. In other six days they marched once. When they marched for the seventh time the priests made a long blast. Joshua instructed that they should shout, having warned them not to take anything for themselves because everything in that city was dedicated to YHWH. Only silver and gold, and every vessel of bronze and iron, were holy to YHWH so they would go into the treasury of YHWH. When they made the great shout, the wall of Jericho fell down. They entered the city and devoted everything in the city to destruction as a *herem*, "both men and women, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkeys, with the edge of the sword" (Joshua 6:21).[92]

[92] The text of Joshua 6:17 displays an exclusive ethnic theology. Joshua 6:17 emphasizes the fact that Jericho is to be something, that is "the city shall be a devoted thing; all that is in it belongs to the Lord" and (NRSV has it that "The city and all that is in it shall be devoted to the LORD for destruction"). The notion of *herem* mostly uses verbal forms ("utterly destroy" or devoted to destruction) since it commands Israel mainly to do something, namely, to obliterate the residents of Canaan in order to rid the land of their idolatry. Joshua's instruction in 6:18 further clarifies this view of the ban as sacrifice. The difference in the usage of *herem* is indicated in part by different uses of the Hebrew root hrm הרם, from which come verbal expression "utterly destroy" (or "devote to destruction") and the nominal phrase "devoted thing" (Creach, 2003:64). Joshua warns the Israel in 6:18 to "keep away from the things devoted to destruction," otherwise the Israelite's camp will become "an object of destruction, bringing trouble upon it"(Creach, 2003:64). A total obedience by the Israelites to YHWH was expected in

Besides the valuable metals, only a prostitute called Rahab and her family were saved. Her inclusion demonstrate that the text of Joshua 6 is not completety against foreigner. Joshua instructed the two men who spied the land to go to Rahab's house and rescue her and all who belong to her in accordance with the promise they made to her. So Rahab, her parents, her siblings (kindreds) and all related to her were taken out (spared). They were brought outside the Israel camp. The city with all in it were burnt down. Rahab lived in Israel for the rest of her life because she allowed the spies Joshua sent to hide in her house.

After all this, Joshua made an oath cursing any person who would arise and rebuild Jericho. For laying the foundation of Jericho, that person would pay with his firstborn. For laying the gates of Jericho, the person would pay with his last born. Thereafter, YHWH was with Joshua and he was famous throughout the land.

5.4.3 An Analysis of the Text

Verse 1: וִֽירִיחוֹ֙ סֹגֶ֣רֶת וּמְסֻגֶּ֔רֶת מִפְּנֵ֖י בְּנֵ֣י יִשְׂרָאֵ֑ל: Now Jericho was shut and remained shut in the face of the Israelites. אֵ֥ין יוֹצֵ֖א וְאֵ֥ין בָּֽא׃: No one went out and no one came in. The author provides a mental picture for the reader about the atmosphere that prevailed when the Israelites approached. He depicts a situation of terrified people by the presence of the Israelites. In Joshua 2:9 Rahab already told the Israelite spies that Jericho residents were absolutely terrified of the Israelites and all who live in the land cringed before them. In verse 11 she declares that their hearts melted, and there was no spirit left in any man because of the Israelites. In verse 24 the spies tell Joshua that "all the inhabitants of the land melt away because of us." Robert Jamieson describes the statement that Jericho was "tightly" shut as "a parenthesis introduced to prepare the way for the directions given by the Captain of the Lord's host" and makes no issue about the frightened state of the Jericho residents (1997: Online). According to Thomas Römer, this verse is not original in this text but a later insertion. For Römer, this insertion establishes a link with the law concerning warfare. Römer phrases Deuteronomy 20:11 as follows: "a town that opens its gates must not be destroyed" (2007:135). Commenting on Deuteronomy 20 in general, Römer argues that it is less legal and more programmatic. According to him, it actually prepares for the conquest attacks in the Book of Joshua. This provides a new justification for the destruction of Jericho. The fact that this final version of Joshua 6 is unoriginal has implications for our discussion as it will be unfolding. Römer identifies verses 1, 6a, 7, 10, 12, 16, 17, 20a, 24a and 26. He argues that these insertions insist in that it is not

destroying completely everything in Jericho. As such, the people of Jericho were considered foreigners to be eliminated by the Israelites.

Israel's military power that attains victory against Jericho but the miraculous intervention of YHWH (2017:135).

Further, Trent C Butler notes that the phrase "in the face of the sons of Israel" lacks in the Septuagint and thus for him "it may well be an 'explanatory' plus in the later Hebrew tradition" (1983:65). The fact that when the Israelites approached the people of Jericho felt terribly threatened seems to be insignificant. This downplaying of this fear seems to be somewhat a general attitude of the readers. It seems to be an inconsequential additional statement just playing an explanatory role. However, for this study, this statement is more than that. This statement characterises the Israelites as brigands, bandits, which is not the Characterization of the Israelites throughout the Old Testament, as we will see later. This issue will be taken up later in the discussion as it has implications for the Characterization of Joshua.

Verses 2-5: In these verses YHWH speaks. The organising statement in this speech is the one that says YHWH has handed over Jericho to Joshua and the Israelites.[93] The concern raised above about the previous verse that it seems inconsequential that the Jericho people were threatened is explicable in this speech of YHWH. According to Tremper Longman quoted by William L Lyons, the destruction of the Canaanites was just because it was initiated by God "and it is God who defines what is moral and just" (Lyons, 2003:106). However, for this study, it is not as simple as that. The point is that the occupation of the Promised Land by the Israelites is not portrayed in this manner in every part of the Old Testament. The study thus argues that this is the Deuteronomistic version of the occupation of the Promised Land.

In this instance therefore, the study takes note of the characterization of God as a warrior God that necessitates a genocidal destruction of the conquered people. This issue will become apparent when we read the Chronicles text. The Characterization of God, like the Characterization of the Israelites above has implications for the Characterization of Joshua, which is the focus of this study.

Verses 6-21: In these verses, God's instructions were conveyed by Joshua to the priests, warriors and the people. In their respective roles, all the participants executed the instructions accordingly. The walls of Jericho fell and in accordance with the instructions, the city was destroyed with everything in it except the precious stones that were preserved for YHWH.

[93] As already observed, Woudstra (1981:109) submits that the cities of Palestine in that period were not large. Jericho, as of that time, measured about 225 by 80 meters and its circumference was 600 meters. The length of the column that marched around the city is not known. This would depend also on its depth. In view of the large numbers of marchers one must assume that the head of the column had long returned to the camp when the others were still marching.

Genocide was committed. The battle of Jericho is the first of the battles which were to be fought with the Canaanites. It is therefore in order to understand these verses within the framework of the broader conquest narrative. Lori Rowlett describes it as follows:

> According to the basic structure of the conquest narrative in Joshua, Israelites are insiders and Canaanites are outsiders (Others) to be utterly destroyed in battle… The usual punishment for Otherness is death and destruction, as demonstrated by the many incidents in which all the Canaanites of a city or territory were 'slain with a great slaughter' or 'struck with the edge of the sword', leaving 'no survivor' (1992:21).

Within this framework, Joshua is the military leader who facilitates and monitors the successful implementation of this strategy.

Verses 22-25: These verses deviate from the pattern of the narrative. Since the first verse, Joshua has been exhibiting malevolence towards non-Israelites. In these verses, he displayed benevolence towards Rahab and her family. This attitude towards Rahab brings in a different element to Joshua's attitude towards non-Israelites. A non-Israelite like Rahab was saved and included into the Israelite community. Rowlett links this benevolence with the malevolence directed to Achan, an Israelite, and the acceptance of the Gibeonites in the following chapter. She thus argues that the conquest narrative is not an anti-foreign polemic but a threat to internal rivals who may have wanted to oppose Joshua's ambitions. Achan is an example of what happens to dissidents (1992:23). John J Collins responds differently to these inclusions. Responding to both the inclusion of Rahab and the Gibeonites in chapter 9, Johnson says: "Rahab and the Gibeonites, as acceptable Canaanites, are very much the exceptions, and the Gibeonites are only grudgingly accepted…but the overall impression is still one of utter destruction" (2014: 225).

Römer adds another element to the discussion, that the Rahab story is not Deuteronomistic. It was interpolated by the post-Deuteronomist editors to "correct somewhat the segregationist ideology of the conquest account" (2007: 182). Given the hostility of Deuteronomy towards the Canaanites generally, (cf. Deut.7; 20:16-18). This study thus maintains that the inclusion of Rahab in the Israelite community does not change the general anti-Canaanite mood of Joshua 6 and therefore the Deuteronomistic pattern of the narrative is sustained.[94]

[94] Rahab and her family being spared during the destruction of Jericho gives a picture of an exception and a reason why someone might not be killed when others are killed (Pressler, 2008:410). The reason why Rahab and her household was spared has to do with covenant and her belief in the God of Israel. The passage of Joshua 6:1-27 is unique in the sense that the story is very detailed regarding how Jericho was destroyed, unlike Joshua 11:10 which the narrator in one verse narrates how Hazor, one of the biggest cities of the Canaanites (the head of other kingdoms, the united Kings of Northern Canaan), was completely destroyed by Joshua.

Verses 26-27: In these final verses, after Jericho has been annihilated, Joshua cursed any person who would attempt to rebuild the city. For such an endeavour, the person would pay with all his children. This malevolence is not mitigated even by the benevolence displayed towards Rahab. In fact, the inclusion of Rahab in the story demonstrates that a debate on the acceptability of the Jericho story in its pure Deuteronomistic form ensued within the text itself. The non-Deuteronomistic editors included the part of Rahab to tame this story. However, even this inclusion could not tone down this story. The closing remarks of the narrative are even crueler. It takes the narrative back to where it started, and thus leaving an impression of Joshua who is anti-Canaanite. An interesting explanation of verse 26 is given by Römer. This verse on the curse of any one who rebuilds Jericho provides a link by the editors to two different periods. On the one hand, this verse is an application of Deuteronomy 13:17. On the other hand, it is a preparation for 1 Kings 16:34 where "… Hiel of Bethel built Jericho. He laid its foundation at the cost of Abiram his firstborn, and set up its gates at the cost of his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord, which he spoke by Joshua the son of Nun".

5.5 The Characterization of Joshua, the Son of Nun

Joshua's characterization can be described in accordance with the broad division of the Book of Joshua, namely, the conquest (1-12) and division of the land (13-24). During the conquest, Joshua plays the role of a military commander. In the division of the land, Joshua plays the role of an administrator (Younger, 2003:737). Since our focus has been on Joshua 6:1-27, we will therefore focus on Joshua as a military commander. Also, because Joshua led the Israelites on the one hand, and followed YHWH on the other, we will consider the characterization of the Israelites as well as the characterization of YHWH in this chapter. This should help us to establish an ideological characterization of Joshua which in turn, will later help us formulate a theological paradigm for a theology of conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. In trying to formulate the character of Joshua as depicted in Joshua 6, we will first look at the characterization of God. We will then examine the characterization of Israel and then end with Joshua.

5.5.1 God as a Warrior

It may be enlightening to start this discussion with the observations by Pressler when she says:

> The battle of Jericho brings together key issues and themes in the conquest narratives. Among them, presented with particular clarity, is the understanding that God is a warrior who fights with and for Israel, that war is sacred, and that obedience to divine Torah requires Israel to "devote to destruction" the Canaanites whom it conquers (cf. Duet. 20:166-18) (2002:49).

The first theme in the order of Pressler, that God is a warrior, is significant for our discussion. In terms of our discussion, the significance of the Characterization of God as a warrior lies in the fact that God chose the Israelites to be a people for His treasured possession, out of all the peoples who are on the face of the earth (Deut. 7: 6). Furthermore, God loves the Israelites and is committed to a promise He made to the forefathers of the Israelites (Deut. 7:8). In all, the Israelites were an elected nation by God to be favoured above other nations. In Deuteronomy 7 God promises the Israelites that He will fight for them.

Referring to the nations that Israel is to conquer, God assures the Israelites that they should not be afraid. He, God, will do what He did to the Egyptians to all the nations that Israel might be afraid of. Römer intelligibly places this election into perspective when he observes that "Deut. 7 links the idea of Israel's 'election' to the necessity of separation from the 'other nations'" (2007:170). He observes that Deuteronomy 7:1-5 and 7:15-26 deal with the other nations and these verses surround 7:6-14 "which insist on the election of Yahweh's people" (2007:170). As Römer explicates, the Book of Joshua is a clear bearer of the segregationist theology (2007:172). Concluding on the ending verses of Deuteronomy 7, he states as follows: "The end of Deuteronomy 7 (especially vv. 21-26) alludes to the conquest stories in the book of Joshua, which are now primarily understood as stories of segregation (2007:170). The Characterization of God therefore entails being a warrior and segregationist against other nations.

The speech of YHWH in Joshua 6:2 should thus be understood in this context. The second theme that Pressler alludes to is the rendering of war as holy. This theme is self-explanatory and therefore there will be no extensive discussion thereon. Lastly, Pressler alludes to obedience. God demands full obedience to His commandments. Those who disobey his commandments He repays them by destroying them (Deut.7:10). In the quotation by Pressler above, "obedience to divine Torah requires Israel to 'devote to destruction' the Canaanites whom it conquers". In conclusion, in Joshua 6, God is characterised as a warrior Who fights on the side of the Israelites, He is for the annihilation of the Canaanites and demands that the Israelites be obedient to His commandments. This study argues that this is a matrix for the Characterization of the Israelites and Joshua.

5.5.2 Israel as an Elected Nation

In Joshua 6:2 God spoke to Joshua and said: "See, I have given Jericho into your hand, with its king and mighty men of valor." This statement is a fulfilment of a promise God made to Israel in Deuteronomy 7:23-24 saying:

> **23** But the Lord your God will give them over to you and throw them into great confusion, until they are destroyed. **24** And he will give their kings into your hand, and you shall make their name perish from under heaven. No one shall be able to stand against you until you have destroyed them.

This promise is a manifestation of an earlier assertion that "the Lord your God has chosen you … out of all the peoples who are on the face of the earth (Deut. 7:6)." Remarking on Israel's awareness of its existence as a people in the world, Walter Brueggemann says:

> … It may well be that there were ethnic or sociological antecedents for Israel, but as a community, as a sociotheological entity, Israel came to exist in the world of the Near East because of the sovereign, free action of Yahweh… Israel characteristically uses three verbs, *love* (*ʾahab*), *choose* (*bḥr*), and *set one's heart* (*ḥšq*), to express its awareness that its existence as a people in the world is rooted only in Yahweh's commitment (2005:414).

For our present discussion, Brueggemann's last statement can be rephrased to focus on *bḥr* so that it states as follows: "Israel characteristically uses the verb *choose* (*bḥr*) to express its awareness that its existence as a people in the world is rooted only in it's commitment." This statement becomes even more profound when considering Brueggemann's further remark that "Deuteronomy is the theological tradition that ponders in most sustained fashion Israel's election by Yahweh" (2005:415). James W Thompson even views Deuteronomy as providing a "classical formulation of the doctrine of election" in Deut. 7:6–11 (2000:389). Jeremy Cott takes the issue even further when he says:

> The promise to Abraham is fulfilled in the Conquest under Joshua. This is the foundational structure of the Hexateuch…Israel is punished when it fails to carry out the complete destruction of a population (Dt. 20:1-18; Jos. 7; 1 Sam. 15). This is holy war… The conclusion seems to me inescapable … that the primary expression and fulfilment of the idea of election is the tradition of the Conquest, much of which is an expression of utter brutality (2005:415).

The foregoing postulations are not meant to confine the doctrine of election in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History but to highlight its significance for this corpus and its Deuteronomistic character. It is anti-foreign and utterly brutal in character, which is not the case in Chronicles, for example. In Amos 9:7 it is even downplayed. In Amos 9:7 it is said:

> 7 "Are you not like the Cushites to me, O people of Israel?" declares the Lord. "Did I not bring up Israel from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?"

From the sound of this statement, Israel is just like other nations in the eyes of YHWH. Israel's characterization in this verse is way different from the characterization we find in Joshua. In Amos 9:7 Israel is not as special to God as she is in the Deuteronomistic History. Even where Israel is special in the eyes of YHWH, still, the Deuteronomistic Doctrine of Election is unique in its own way. What makes election different in the Deuteronomistic History is its perspective of monotheism. An enlightening postulation in this regard is by Cezula (Forthcoming) when discussing monotheism in Deuteronomy and Isaiah. Comparing Deuteronomy and Isaiah on monotheism, Cezula states as follows:

> … Deuteronomy and Isaiah departed from the same premise that foreign gods must be stigmatised but ended up at different ethnic theologies …for Deuteronomy the truth is each nation belongs to its respective god. For Isaiah, the truth is, all people of the universe belong to the one and the only God, Yahweh. … In the case of Deuteronomy, it is a right thing that each nation worship the god that it was allocated. For Isaiah, it is a right thing that all nations take their rightful place and return to their legitimate creator… Deuteronomic behaviour therefore tends to push the nations to their respective gods while Isaiah's behaviour tends to attract the nations to the only God for the sake of their own salvation (Forthcoming: 11-12).

This understanding of God's relationship with other nations underlies the Deuteronomist(s)' attitude towards other nations. This postulation gets affirmation in Römer's assertion that "Deut. 7 links the idea of Israel's 'election' to the necessity of separation from the 'other nations'", as already mentioned above (2007:170). It is this perspective that underlies the Characterization of Israel in Joshua 6. According to Römer, Joshua 6 has been diluted with a non-Deuteronomistic attitude as it stands. According to him, a purely Deuteronomistic Joshua 6 would read as follows:

> *2a And the LORD said to Joshua: 3 You shall march around the city, all the men of war going around the city once. Thus shall you do for six days. 4b On the seventh day you shall march around the city seven times, and the priests shall blow the trumpets. 5 And when they make a long blast with the ram's horn, when you hear the sound of the trumpet,*

> *then all the people shall shout with a great shout, and the wall of the city will fall down flat, and the people shall go up, everyone straight before him." [11] So he caused the ark of the LORD to circle the city, going about it once. [14] And the second day they marched around the city once, and returned into the camp. So they did for six days. [15] On the seventh day they rose early, at the dawn of day, and marched around the city in the same manner seven times. It was only on that day that they marched around the city seven times. [20b]As soon as the people heard the sound of the trumpet, the people shouted a great shout, and the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they captured the city. [21] Then they devoted all in the city to destruction, both men and women, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkeys, with the edge of the sword. [27] So the LORD was with Joshua, and his fame was in all the land.*

In this version, the precept of utter destruction is fully expressed. From the Deuteronomist(s)' point of view, utter destruction of foreigners is full obedience. When one takes this version into cognisance, Rowlett's argument falls off. Rowlett argues that, because of the story of Rahab, the conquest narrative is not anti-foreign. As we have noticed, Römer relegates the story of Rahab as non-Deuteronomistic. This study focuses on the Deuteronomistic theology on violence so that it can compare it with the theology of violence in Chronicles. This is meant to help the study to explore options for a theology of conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. For this reason, the study focuses only on Deuteronomistic theology. Conferring to this approach, the Israelites are characterised in Joshua 6 as the elected ones who are anti-Canaanite and are committed to the annihilation of the Canaanites. This, according to this study, is the backdrop for the characterization of Joshua, the son of Nun. Let us now proceed to examine the characterization of Joshua.

5.5.3 Joshua as a Warrior

The discussion has thus far established at least two significant points. The first one is that God in Joshua 6 is characterized as favouring Israel over other nations. He is a warrior God that orders war and fights for Israel. He advocates the annihilation of Canaanites and expects full obedience from the Israelites. The second point flows from the first one. The Israelites are characterized as an aggressive nation which views itself as the favoured nation by God. They are anti-Canaanite and have a mandate to annihilate the Canaanites. In short, the text of Joshua

6 exhibits an exclusive ethnic theology. The characterization of Joshua arises out this theological matrix. Let us now examine Joshua's characterization.

Since the last statement in the previous discussion declares the previous two characterizations as the theological matrix for the characterization of Joshua, there will obviously be many overlaps between this part of the discussion and the two previous ones. For this reason, the reader should not expect an entirely new presentation while at the same time, the reader should not be bored by the familiar statements because he or she feels they are redundancy. Rather, the reader should appreciate the logical unfolding of the final conclusion.

As already indicated in the analysis above, in verses 2-5 it is a conversation between YHWH and Joshua. Joshua is passive and just receives instructions from YHWH. This presents Joshua as an obedient servant of God. He provides a model for believers. In 6-21 Joshua is active, giving instructions received from YHWH and ensuring their implementation. The obedient servant carries to YHWH's instructions out faithfully. Again providing a good model of YHWH's messengers. In 22-25 he deviates from the mandate of total annihilation by saving Rahab and her family. This is an interesting development in delineating Joshua's character. Danna Nolan Fewell describes this scenario in a very interesting way. First describing the Israelites she says:

> Goaded by divinely ordained intolerance, Israelites are pitted against Canaanites in a struggle for differentiation…there is yet a subversive descant fostering ambiguity about identity. It is the recognition of holiness, not one's nationality…that identifies one with God's people. Other stories support this notion. Rahab (chaps. 2, 6) and the Gibeonites (chap. 9) are outsiders who become insiders because they recognize Yahweh's power. Their counterparts are Achan and his family (chap 7): by not recognizing Yahweh's holiness, these are insiders who become outsiders. Fluid identity boundaries render nationalistic categories ambivalent and call into question the obsession with annihilating outsiders (1998:69).

This is Rowlett's view that was expressed above. It brings another dimension to Joshua's characterization. Joshua is not necessarily anti-Canaanite but for the honour of God. Also, this is a good model for believers. Lastly, in 26-27 Joshua curses whoever might attempt to rebuild Jericho to lose all children. Here Joshua demonstrates some assertiveness. He is taking his own initiative. In the other incidents he implemented God's instructions and found himself bound by the promise which was made by the spies. This time, he is taking command of the situation in his own accord. In summary, the characterization of Joshua that transpires from this

discussion is that he is an obedient servant of God who carries out God's instructions faithfully and he is not necessarily nationalistic but stands for the honour of God. At times, he can be assertive in a zealous way in obeying God.

This is one way of understanding the characterization of Joshua. Another way is to follow Römer's argument that Rahab's story is not part of the Deuteronomistic narrative but an interpolation by people who are not Deuteronomists. In addition to this view of the text, one can also view the text within the broader Deuteronomistic precepts as outlined in Deuteronomy 7. In this view, the fluid boundaries identified by Fewell become solid and thus render nationalistic categories unequivocal and annihilation of outsiders unquestionable. Additionally, taking into account that Joshua is an obedient servant of God who carries out God's instructions faithfully makes him to represent God Who was characterized above as a warrior God that orders war and advocates the annihilation of Canaanites expecting full obedience from His subjects. Also, Joshua is military commander of the Israelites who were characterized above as an aggressive nation which views itself as the favoured nation by God and who are anti-Canaanite and have a mandate to annihilate the Canaanites. As an obedient servant of God and a loyal military commander of the Israelites, Joshua exhibits an exclusive ethnic theology in Joshua 6:1-27. Joshua is a military warrior that conquered thirty-one kings (Joshua 12:24).

5.6 Joshua 6:1-27 and the Broader Theological Discourse of the Covenant

This chapter has made its final conclusion concerning the Characterization of Joshua in Joshua 6:1-27 and by extension, in the Deuteronomistic History. The final conclusion is that Joshua is characterised as a military warrior commanding the conquest of Canaan. He advocates an anti-Canaanite perspective and the annihilation of the Canaanites. Joshua is an "ideal" Deuteronomistic military warrior. He is characterized so that he exhibits an exclusive ethnic theology and thus advocates the Deuteronomistic ethnic theology. In his role as a military warrior, Joshua is also understood to be implementing the final phase of the covenant that God made with the forefathers of the Israelites. As Andrew C Tunyogi put it, "the promise given to Abraham found its fulfilment only in Joshua" (1965:374). Elaborating on this assertion, Tunyogi says:

> The focusing of attention is particularly strong in Deuteronomy. Its theme is this: "You are to pass over the Jordan to go in to take possession of the land which the Lord your God gives you; and when you possess it and live in it, you shall be careful to do all the statutes and the ordinances which I set before you this day" (Deut. 11: 31-32). Yet the story of the conquest is not told in Numbers or in Deuteronomy but only in Joshua. In

> other words, in Numbers and in Deuteronomy we hear the promise, but the fulfilment comes only later. This fragmentary, incomplete status of the Pentateuch forced the previous generation to speak about the Hexateuch instead of the Pentateuch (1965:374).

It is the intertwining of the covenant with the conquest narratives that necessitates this final section of this chapter. This is important for this study because the concept of the covenant, unfortunately, was not immune from the ideological contestations that are discernible in the Old Testament. For example, Moshe Weinfeld argues that there are two types of covenants found in the Old Testament: the obligatory type reflected in the Covenant of God with Israel (Sinai Covenant) and the promissory type reflected in the Abrahamic and Davidic covenants (1970:184).[95] It is therefore important for this study to identify which covenant is the conquest associated with. Writing in 1970, Weinfeld stated as follows:

> The nature of the covenant of God with Israel has been thoroughly investigated and recently clarified by a comparison with the treaty formulations in the ancient Near East. The nature of the Abrahamic-Davidic covenant however is still vague and needs clarification. The present study suggests a new way of understanding the character of the Abrahamic-Davidic covenants and this by means of a typological and functional comparison with the grant formulae in the Ancient Near East (1970:184).

After some examination Weinfeld concluded that "the covenant with Abraham, and so the covenant with David, indeed belong to the grant type and not to the vassal type" (1970:185). Following Weinfeld's designations, we will call these two covenant categories the vassal (obligatory) type and the grant (promissory) type covenants. Distinguishing one from the other, Weinfeld differentiates as follows:

> Functionally… there is a vast difference between these two types of documents. While the "treaty" constitutes an obligation of the vassal to his master, the suzerain, the "grant" constitutes an obligation of the master to his servant. In the "grant" the curse is directed towards the one who will violate the rights of the king's vassal, while in the treaty the curse is directed towards the vassal who will violate the rights of his king. In other words, the "grant" serves mainly to protect the rights of the servant, while the treaty comes to protect the rights of the master (1970:185).

[95] William D Barrick identifies six: the Abrahamic, the Mosaic, the Priestly, the Deuteronomic, the Davidic, and the New (Barrick, William D. 1999. "The Mosaic Covenant" in *The Master's Seminary Journal*: 214). However, even these six types can still be collapsed to either obligatory or promissory categories. For that reason the study will stick to suzerain-vassal or grant categories.

Taking cognisance of Deuteronomy 7:10, Deuteronomy 28 and Achan's case in Joshua 7, this study associates Joshua 6, the whole conquest narrative and the Deuteronomistic History in general with the vassal or treaty covenant. However, the designations of these covenants that are more enlightening for our discussion are those used by Michael A Grisanti. Grisanti designates the treaty covenant the Mosaic covenant and the grant covenant the Davidic covenant (1999:234). Since the Deuteronomistic History has been associated with the vassal or treaty covenant above, it is thus here associated with the Mosaic covenant. According to the differentiation of Weinfeld, the Mosaic covenant "constitutes an obligation of the vassal to his master". Deuteronomy 7: 9-11 evinces this sentiment when it says:

> [9] Know therefore that the LORD your God is God, the faithful God who keeps covenant and steadfast love with those who love him and keep his commandments, to a thousand generations, [10] and repays to their face those who hate him, by destroying them. He will not be slack with one who hates him. He will repay him to his face. [11] You shall therefore be careful to do the commandment and the statutes and the rules that I command you today.

In a more specific manner, Deuteronomy 28 spells out the consequences of obedience and disobedience, respectively, saying:

> And if you faithfully obey the voice of the Lord your God, being careful to do all his commandments that I command you today, the Lord your God will set you high above all the nations of the earth. **2** And all these blessings shall come upon you and overtake you, if you obey the voice of the Lord your God… **15** "But if you will not obey the voice of the Lord your God or be careful to do all his commandments and his statutes that I command you today, then all these curses shall come upon you and overtake you…

In Joshua 7, the defeat of Israel by the people of Ai and the destruction of Achan, who stole the devoted treasures, were the consequence of disobedience. This is the Mosaic covenant in practicality. Describing the characteristics of the Mosaic covenant, Grisanti says it is obligatory, bilateral and ultimately conditional (1999: 248). By obligatory it is meant the junior partner has an obligation of obeying the senior partner in contradistinction to the Davidic covenant where the senior partner has a commitment to protect the junior partner (Weinfeld 1970:185; Grisanti 1999:284). By bilateral is meant that when the junior partner falters from the agreement benefits are taken away. In the Davidic covenant even if the junior partner falters from the agreement, the benefits are not taken away. For example, in the Mosaic covenant, when the Israelites

disobey YHWH, they can lose the land. However, in the Davidic covenant, if a Davidic king disobeys YHWH, the divine grant of an eternal Davidic dynasty is not revoked. Instead, that particular king will forfeit the opportunity to enjoy the provisions of the grant but the grant itself will remain in place. It is eternal (Grisanti, 1999:242). This bilaterality and unilaterality are what make these covenants conditional and unconditional respectively. The Mosaic covenant is conditional. A statement by TCG Thornton demonstrates the conditionality and unconditionality in a statement that compares the dynasties of the northern kingdom and the southern kingdom saying:

> In Israel dynasties came and went because the right to furnish the king was not regarded as the prerogative of one royal family, and God could and did choose outsiders to be king. In Judah the kingship was regarded as the preserve of the Davidic royal family alone; there was no conceivable alternative to the Davidic dynasty and so the Davidic dynasty continued to reign (1963:1).

There is an element of conditionality in both cases because the incumbent loses the benefits of being a ruler. However, *ultimately*, the covenant is either conditional or unconditional because the dynasty itself is destroyed or remains intact, respectively. In a nutshell, the Mosaic is conditional because the master revokes the benefits in the case of disobedience while the Davidic is unconditional because the master remains committed to his original promise and just relegate the culprit. Concerning conditionality, Weinfeld makes a significant remark for our discussion that "the Deuteronomist … turned the conditionality into a dogma and built his ideology around it" (1970:196).

Weinfeld's statement places Deuteronomy 7: 9-11, Deuteronomy 28, Joshua 7 etc. into perspective. An interestingly related remark to Weinfeld's remark is by William D Barrick. Barrick asserts that "the distinctive characteristic of the Mosaic covenant is its setting of God's laws regulating Israel's life in the framework of a theology of the election of Israel by grace" (1999:219). In plain English, Weinfeld says the Deuteronomist made the preservation of the obedient and the destruction of the disobedient a fulcrum of his ideology. From the discussion above it became clear that the preservation of the obedient and the destruction of the disobedient is what the Mosaic covenant is mainly about. Logically, therefore, the Mosaic covenant became the fulcrum of the Deuteronomistic theology. Now, Barrick says, the Mosaic covenant brings all the laws into the framework of the theology of election.

From the above, we also noted that Römer observes that "Deut. 7 links the idea of Israel's 'election' to the necessity of separation from the 'other nations'" (2007:170). It may therefore

not be far-fetched to argue that the Mosaic covenant which guided Joshua in his mission to conquer the land of the Canaanites was anti-foreigner. This assertion reinforces the study's conclusion about Joshua's characterization of Joshua in Joshua 6 and the Deuteronomistic History. An equally important point for our study is that the Mosaic covenant is also called the Sinai Covenant. Both Sinai and Mosaic (Moses) are synonymous with Exodus. The Exodus covers the departure from Egypt, the wandering in the desert and the conquest of Canaan. In terms of conditionality as described above, the wandering in the desert and the conquest of Canaan exhibit characteristics of the Mosaic covenant. The generation which left Egypt died in the desert because of disobedience.

A description of the Exodus that is interesting for this study is by Edward W Said. He describes Exodus as follows: "The text of Exodus does categorically enjoin victorious Jews to deal unforgivingly with their enemies, the prior native inhabitants of the Promised Land" (1986:93). The Exodus phenomenon itself carries the characteristics of conditionality and anti-foreign elements. This is important because the Exodus serves as an introduction to the Deuteronomistic History that is the subject of this study. Our discussion throughout has been asserting that the Deuteronomistic History advocates an exclusive ethnic theology. The final statement of this discussion therefore is that Joshua's characterization in the Deuteronomistic History evinces an exclusive ethnic theology.

5.7 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has been examining the characterization of Joshua, the son of Nun, in the Book of Joshua, particularly in Joshua 6:1-27. This is to determine the characterization of Joshua in the Deuteronomistic History. The intention was to establish the ethnic theology that is evinced by Joshua as a character in this text. The study did this with the reasoning that the characterization of Joshua in this chapter is a representative of such characterization in other chapters as well. In the same vein, the study is also convinced that the ethnic theology exhibited by the character of Joshua is also a representative of the ethnic theology advocated by the Book of Joshua in particular, and the Deuteronomistic History in general.

The study started by placing Joshua 6: 1-27 within the broader Book of Joshua and the relevant theological tradition. The conclusion was that this chapter belongs to the conquest part of the Book of Joshua vis-à-vis the land distribution part. It also concluded that among the conquest stories in the Book of Joshua, Joshua 6:1-27 appears to be a sort of Deuteronomistic "ideal" of war. The discussion proceeded to examine the text itself. We presented the verse by verse discussion of Joshua 6:1-27 followed with Hebrew and the own English translations and proceeded to summarise the text. We then analysed it. The analysis was informed by Thomas

Römer's argument that the text contains both the Deuteronomistic and non-Deuteronomistic material. After separating the non-Deuteronomistic material the study concluded that Joshua as a character participates in a text that is anti-Canaanite. We then advanced to examine Joshua's characterization. In this section three conclusions were come to. The first one was that YHWH in this chapter is characterized as a warrior Who fights on the side of the Israelites. He is for the annihilation of the Canaanites and demands that the Israelites be obedient to His commandments.

The second one was that the Israelites are characterized in Joshua 6 as the elected ones who are anti-Canaanite and are committed to the annihilation of the Canaanites. Again, the study viewed these characterizations as the backdrop for the characterization of Joshua. The examination came to the conclusion that Joshua is characterized as a military warrior commanding the conquest of Canaan. He advocates an anti-Canaanite perspective and the annihilation of the Canaanites. Borrowing from Römer's phrasing in describing Joshua 6:1-27 "as a sort of Deuteronomistic 'ideal' of war", Joshua is a sort of an "ideal" Deuteronomistic military warrior. He is characterized so that he exhibits an exclusive ethnic theology. Perceiving that Joshua's character is based on a covenant with YHWH, the study found it important to further examine this covenant, given that the covenant is also a contested theological concept in the OT.

The study concluded that the Mosaic covenant, which informs Joshua's character, is characterized by a strong element of anti-Canaanite. The final conclusion therefore was that Joshua's characterization in the Deuteronomistic History exhibits an exclusive ethnic theology. This brings our discussion in this chapter to an end. The next step is to examine the characterization of Joshua in the Chronistic History in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

JOSHUA IN THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES: 1 CHRONICLES 7: 20-29

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter we examined the Characterization of Joshua in the Deuteronomistic History. This was done by reading Joshua 6:1-27 with the reasoning that the outcome will be representative of Joshua's Characterization in the Book of Joshua and in the Deuteronomistic History. The final conclusion was that Joshua as a character in the Deuteronomistic History evinces an exclusive ethnic theology. The Deuteronomistic History was chosen because it is a major narrative corpus in the Hebrew Bible. Another major narrative corpus in the Hebrew Bible is the Chronistic History. This chapter is going to examine the Characterization of Joshua in the Chronistic History. This will be done by reading 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 with the similar reasoning that the outcome will be a representative of the ethnic theology of the Chronistic History. The outcome of this examination will be compared with the outcome of the previous examination in the quest for a proper theology that can help in the prevention of ethnic conflict in Northern Nigeria. The discussion will unfold in the same manner as the previous one. We will place 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 within the broader Book of Chronicles and the relevant theological tradition. We will then proceed to the text itself, 1 Chronicles 7:20-29.

Similar to the previous discussion, four things will happen in this phase. The first one is the verse by discussion of 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. The second one is the text will be presented in both a Hebrew and an own English translation. The third one will be a summary of the narrative to assure that the text has been properly understood. The fourth one will be an analysis of the text which will culminate in the establishment of an ethnic theology discernible in this text. After this phase, the discussion will move on to discuss the Characterization of Joshua. This discussion will culminate in the disclosure of the ethnic theology exhibited by Joshua in his Characterization. This discussion will take a cumulative form, starting with the Characterization of YHWH and the Characterization of the Israelites to conclude with the Characterization of Joshua himself. Lastly we will examine the covenant that underlies this narrative. The discussion will come to a close by a conclusion.

6.2 The Book of Chronicles and 1 Chronicles 7:20-29

The name of the Book of Chronicles in Greek is *Paraleipomenon (παραλειπομενον)*. Translated into English, this means matters omitted. As Jonker explains, in the early stages the Book of Chronicles was studied "merely to glean 'the omitted things' from this book in order to append

the historical picture we get from the other historical books". That is not the case anymore. Jonker continues to explain that "the focus in recent studies is much more on the Chronicler's own engagement with his sources and his contribution towards the socio-religious discourse in his own time, most probably towards the end of the Persian era" (2014:217). Taking cue from Jonker's explanation above, one can postulate that Chronicles belongs to a theological tradition of its own. However, this cannot be taken for granted, given that scholars are not in unison in their perception of the book. In chapter three it was indicated that some scholars maintain that the author of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah is the same while others do not, which also affects the understanding of a theological tradition Chronicles belongs to.

Concerning Chronicles' compositional history, there are different suggestions for its redaction: Priestly, Levitical or Deuteronomistic (Knoppers 2000:242). The last suggestion brings the name of Raymond Person to mind. Person (2010) is critical of scholars who discern ideological differences between what he calls the "Deuteronomic History" and Chronistic History. He calls it Deuteronomic History instead of Deuteronomi(sti)c History to deny that the ideology found in Deuteronomy is the basis for the books from Joshua to 2 Kings. He argues that while the "Deuteronomic History" and the Chronistic History are literary works, they are still fixed firmly and deeply in an oral tradition. His supposition is that one cannot talk about ideology in an oral traditional setting. He refers to what he calls multiformity. According to multiformity, a story or a song, for example, will be told or sung in different times or communities. Because the tellers or singers depend on memory to reserve the story or the song, there will be slightly different expressions of the same story or song.

In that case one cannot necessarily talk of ideological differences but nuances as a result of dependence on memory. Even an individual teller or singer cannot tell or sing the exact duplicate of the same story or song every time he or she tells or sings it, he argues. In line with this argument, Person suggests that Chronicles is a variant of the Deuteronomic tradition (2010: 85). He denounces the argument of theological/ideological differences. The existence of a Chronistic theological tradition to which Chronicles belongs therefore is not uncontested. This should suffice to demonstrate that a Chronistic tradition should not be taken for granted. Let us now proceed to investigate the matter in the book itself.

The Book of Chronicles can broadly be divided into two parts, the genealogies (1 Chronicles 1-9) and the narrative (1 Chronicles 10-2 Chronicles 36). The narrative part can also be subdivided into the death of Saul[96] and the beginning of King David (1 Chron. 10:1-29:30); the

[96] The title king in front of Saul's name is deliberately omitted, given that the story itself downplays this status for King Saul. Nowhere is he referred to as king except in 1 Chronicles 11:2-3 where it is stated that even when Saul

reign of King Solomon (2 Chron. 1:1-9:31) and the rest of the kings of Judah (2 Chron. 10:1-36:23). The genealogies can be subdivided into the genealogies of all humanity (1 Chronicles 1:1-2:2); the genealogies of the twelve sons of Jacob (1 Chronicles 2:3-9:1) and the genealogies of "all Israel" in post-exilic times (1 Chronicles 9:2-44). Comparing the genealogies with the narrative, Knoppers demonstrates that they reveal similar points of view: "… the genealogical prologue (1 Chron. 1-9) and the history of the monarchy (1 Chron. 10 – 2 Chron. 36), despite their different genres, reveal similar points of view. Both end with exile (1 Chron. 9:1; 2 Chron. 36:17-21), charge the deportation to infidelity (1 Chron. 9:1; 2 Chron. 36:12-16), and announce a return (1 Chron. 9:2-34; 2 Chron. 36:22-23) (Knoppers, 2004:487).

While at face-value, there seems to be clear connection between the genealogies and the narrative, as Knoppers demonstrates, the Chronicler planned his literary work systematically. Even more interestingly, the genealogies act as an introduction to the narrative on the Israelite monarchy. This is contrary to the Deuteronomistic History which introduces the narrative of the monarchy with the story of the Exodus. This becomes even more important if one takes into account that the Exodus advocates a particular theology concerning the relationship of the Israelites and the other nations. In what he calls a Canaanite reading of the Exodus, Said says:

> The text of Exodus does categorically enjoin victorious Jews to deal unforgivingly with their enemies, the prior native inhabitants of the Promised Land (1986:93)… Exodus may be a tragic book in that it teaches that you cannot both "belong" and concern yourself with Canaanites who do not belong (1986:106).

The Exodus, as an introduction to the Deuteronomistic History's narrative of monarchy, can be compared with the Chronicler's genealogies which act as an introduction to the Chronistic History's narrative of the monarchy. While the Exodus compels the separation of the Israelites from the other nations, the genealogies start with Adam. Describing this scenario, Knoppers says:

> This material, drawn from Gen.10.1-29, the so-called Table of Nations, enumerates approximately 70 or 72 descendants of Noah's three sons, symbolizing the totality of the world's known peoples. The complex genealogical tree relates all of the world's nations to each other through a common ancestor-Noah (2003:13-14).

In a similar spirit, Jonker expresses what Knoppers has expressed above more explicitly saying:

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was king, it was David who commanded the army of Israel because the YHWH had already appointed him. Thereafter, they made David king according to the word of the YHWH through Samuel.

> It is surprising that this history, unlike the Deuteronomistic version, situates the history of God's people within the history of humankind… this is already an indication of the Chronicler's universalist or inclusivist approach (which is also echoed in the closing of the book in 2 Chron. 36:22–23, where Cyrus, the Persian emperor, is described as the great liberator of God's people). To start right at the beginning suggests that God's people are part of a wider humanity (2013:29).

In the Book of Chronicles it is explicitly expressed that Israel and the other nations descend from the same proto-human, Adam. To a certain extent, Israel and the other nations are placed at an equivalent position before YHWH. Equivalent is used instead of equal because, as Knoppers observes:

> Having branched out to the universal, the genealogies return to the particular. The ensuing ten-name list extending from 'Shem' to 'Abram' (1 Chron. 1.24-27) is extracted from the much longer narrative lineage of Shem in Gen. 11.10-26: these are the lineages (תלדת) of Shem (P). There is no more discussion of the seed of Ham and Japhet. Hence, the text returns to a particular focus on a single line (2003:13-14).

Responding to arguments that 1 Chronicles 1, which features the other nations, legitimises Israel or demonstrates Israel's privileged relationship with YHWH, Sparks retorts by saying then it must be legitimising the other nations as well because they also get part of the Chronicler's attention (2008: 323). This study agrees with Sparks' logic and thus finds it not unreasonable to conclude that Chronicles advocates an inclusive ethnic theology. This line of thinking becomes even stronger if one considers the opening of the book with Adam the proto-human and the closing of the book with Cyrus the liberator. Both the opening and the closing evince a Universalist attitude and thus form an *inclusio* of the whole literary work. The nature of the Book of Chronicles as described above, is the context within which our text is embedded. For this reason, this study hypothesises that 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 characterizes Joshua, the son of Nun in line with the theology of the book.[97] To test the hypothesis, let us now proceed to verse by verse discussion and then analyse the text itself afterward.

6.3 Verse by verse discussion of 1 Chronicles 7:20-29

As observed in the previous chapter, this research deals with an ancient text that developed over a long period of time. For this reason, there is a need to translate it into the contemporary

[97] The Chronicles include Joshua as a person, not his story as a book. Since the book of Joshua was already part of the canon the Chronicler uses it to give a brief genealogy of Joshua as a person. This is because Joshua was an important person who led in the conquest of the land.

reader's language. The attempt to provide a translation is an effort to interpret words from a primary language and culture into a receptive language and culture.

Verse 20 has "And the sons of Ephraim: Shuthelah, and Bered his son, Tahath his son, Eleadah his son, Tahath his son." And the children of Ephraim וּבְנֵי אֶפְרַיִם is preferred instead of and the sons of because Ephraim had a daughter Sheerah. After the presentation of the genealogy of Ephraim in verse 20-21, it is observed that misfortune strikes in the house of Ephraim, whereby his two sons were killed by the native-born men of Gath during a livestock raid as found in 7:21b-23). This genealogy implicitly reminds us of the fact that what is important for the Chronicler is not the genealogical past, but it is the giving of the twelve tribes of Israel a place in the Chronicler's survey of כָּל־עִשָּׂרָאֵל "All – Israel" (Dirksen, 2005:121). Furthermore, the second genealogy is interrupted by a brief narration in verses 21b-24, which seems to be a later insertion. The last two verses show that, for the Chronicler, Manasseh and Ephraim are not so much two different tribes as part of the tribe of Joseph, and this is made clear at the end of verse 29.

In 7:21 and Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer, and Elead, whom the men of (i) Gath that were born in that land slew, because they came down to take away their cattle. According to Sparks (2008:197), the Ephraimite list in 1 Chronicles 7:20[98]-29, is complete, and raises numerous questions as follows: What is the relationship between the beginning of this list (Shuthelah, Bered, Tahath) and that of Numbers 26:35 Shuthelah, Beker, Tahan)? Do these reflect variations upon the same names, which would indicate that this part of the list had been a horizontal genealogy of brothers which was read as a vertical genealogy of fathers/sons? As a response, the text as it stands clearly identifies the patriarch Ephraim with Ephraim, father of Ezer and Elead (1 Chronicles 7:20, 22), and also clearly places them in Canaan rather than Egypt. The old tradition (old material) describes Ephraim as a son of Joseph and a tribe from the patriarch. The Chronicler describes Ephraim as the father of Ezer and Elead, an ancestor of Joshua who lived ten generations later. In this regard, one might say that the Chronicler ascribed to Joshua a new character befitting the needs of his community. He presented Joshua without any violent traits. This is because peace was a community need in the Chronicler's time (Cezula, 2018:11).

[98] "Bered" (*brd)* is not mentioned in LXX^{B}, LXX^{L} *Rhaam*. Syr. And Arab. Follow MT Numbers 26:35 bkr. "His son Tahath" Thus the phrase is missing from a few Hebrew MSS and from LXX^{B,} LXX^{L} *Thaath*. MT Numbers 26:35 *tahan* (cf SP *thm*; LXX *Tanach*; Genesis 46:20 *Taam*. (His son Eleadah" (*ldh bnw*). So MT. LXX^{B} *huioi Laada*. Syr. *ld bnw.* "Tahath." Thus MT. LXX^{B} *Noome*; LXX^{Aal} *Noome;* LXX^{L} *Thaath* (Knoppers, 2004:456).

Since the Chronicler was retelling the same literature as found in the book of Joshua, the Ephraim story and that of Joshua was presented differently. The aim was to show and encouraged the unity of Israel as a nation. In a situation where a text presents a conflicting ideas, one should understand that it is not that the text is complex but rather it is because the text talks about a complex reality. The complexity of a text can sometimes be traced if one looks at the text as a whole. In this case, both old tradition and the Chronicler describe the same historical Ephraim. Again the old material describes Ephraim to be born and died in Egypt with only one brother Manasseh, but the Chronicler describes the tribe of Ephraim and his brothers to be in Canaan already (Tuell, 2001:39). The text further indicates that "his brothers" were also in Canaan, for they came to comfort him (Sparks, 2008:199). These reflections are contradictory, and it could be that the Chronicler inserted some parts of it.

The list of 1 Chronicles 7:20-21a can be classified as a chiasm, and suggests that these were originally two separate lists, each indicating the sons of Ephraim in Numbers 26 as a long list of fathers/sons. Bered and Zabad[99] are both considered as corruption of Beker. The question is what is the relation of the first part of the list (1 Chronicles 7:20-21a) to the latter part (1 Chronicles 7:25-27)? The relationship between the linear genealogy of 20-21a and the linear genealogy of 25-27 remains unclear. The genealogy of Ephraim in verses 20-29 actually consists of two genealogies (verses 20-21a, 25-27) separated by narratives (verses 21b-24) followed by a list of settlements of Ephraim and Manasseh (verses 28-29). However, one can say that Shuthelah, Ezer, and Elead are brothers as found in 21b-24 of 1 Chronicles. It is a linear genealogy that ends with Joshua, the one who led Israel to conquer Canaan, the Promised Land. In Numbers 26:35-37, one finds a segmented genealogy with a depth of two generations from Ephraim to Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan; and from Shuthelah to Eran.

In the LXX, Genesis 46:20 records two sons of Ephraim, that is; Southalaam (Shuthelah) and Taam (Tahan) and one grandson of Ephraim: Edem (Eran). All of these are unattested in MT Genesis 46:20, but with the exception of the missing Becher, the lineage is similar to what is found in Numbers 26:35-37. Knoppers (2004:463) demarcates and titles 1 Chronicles 7:20-27 as "The descendants of Ephraim." In this pericope, the genealogy bears little resemblance to

[99] In the MT the name "Zabad" is (זָבָד) and in LXX^{B} is (ζαββαδ). The phrase "his son Shuthelah" in MT is lacking in LXX^{B} due to haplography (בְּנָוֹ to בְּנָוֹ) LXX^{AN} σοτηελε. "As for Ezer and Elead" (וְעֶזֶר וְאֶלְעָד wzr wld) in MT is also missing the initial waw. Contrary to modern translations, the phrase should be interpreted as a *casus pendens* construction. First, the linear genealogical pattern "PN_1, his son PN_2, his son PN_3" ceases before Ezer and Elead. Second, the context (verse 22) dictates that Ezer and Elead must either be actual sons or grandsons (through Shuthelah) of Ephraim and not several generations removed from him. Thirdly, it seems more likely that the men of Gath killed two of Ephraim's male descendants (verses 20-21a). These observations hold even if one follows NAB and transposes "those born in the land" (from later in the verse) to follow "Ezer and Elead." The phrase "killed them" as found in MT and LXX^{AN} is "kill him" in LXXB zc_2 (Boling, 2003:456).

the earlier Ephraimite lineages (LXX Genesis 46:20; Numbers 26:35-37). To be sure, both list Shuthelah first and there is some possibility for textual confusion, but the presentations differ. In the text above, one finds, however, a mixture of materials such as a long genealogy (Ephraim, Shuthelah, Bered and many others).

Verse 23. Bare a son-Thus the breach was in some measure repaired, by the addition of another son in his old age. When God thus restores comfort to his mourners, he makes glad according to the days wherein he afflicted, setting the mercies over against the crosses, we ought to observe the kindness of his providence. One would ask if the list in 1 Chronicles 7:25 is a corruption of the list of Numbers 26. In this regard, it is possible to say that Rasheph and Telah were shaped out of a corruption of Shuthelah in which Curtis simply suggests that Telah is an abbreviation for Shuthelah. Knoppers (2004:465) argues that in the present form of the text Ephraim, mentioned in verse 22, and Beriah, introduced in verse 23,[100] can also be considered as possibilities. It is noteworthy to question if Beriah, the son to Ephraim, is connected to the Beriah of 1 Chronicles 8:12-13. One may suggest that the victory of Benjaminite Beriah in 1 Chronicles 18:13 "closes the event narrated" in 1 Chronicles 7:23. On the name "Beriah" *beria*: the narrator creates a word play on the name, associating it with (be)raa, a "calamity" in Ephraim's house. Ephraim named his son Beriah because there was evil or "disaster" in his house (1 Chronicles 7:23). The story of Beriah makes one cast back his mind to the story of Jabez in 1 Chronicles 4:9-10, whose name means "because I bore him in pain" according to his mother (Dirksen, 2005:126 and Tuell, 2001:39).

Verse 24. His daughter was Sherah that is, remnant; "called so," says the Targum, "because she was the remnant that escaped from the slaughter mentioned above."[101] The name "Sheerah" is the only woman in the Hebrew Scriptures credited with founding towns. Sheerah built three cities Lower and Upper Beth-horon and Uzzen-sheerah[102] (Dirksen, 2005:126; Olojede, 2011:132). 1 Kings 9:17 states that Solomon fortified Lower Beth-horon.

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[100] "(and) she named him" reads וַתֵּלֶד wtqr with a few Hebrew in MSS and some in Tg. MSS, Syriac, and Arab (Lectio difficilior). MT and LXX "he named" (וַיִּקְרָא wyqr). "In his house" in MT is "in my house" in LXX.

[101] While Sheerah as the daughter of Beriah would make the most sense as Beriah is the nearest referent to the term "his daughter," the Chronicler frequently places daughters at the end of a list, after all the sons are mentioned, even if the sons are younger than the daughter (cf. 1 Chronicles 5:29 [6:3], "the children of Amram: Aaron, Moses, Miriam"). The clause "She built Lower and Upper Beth-horon" is recorded in the MT. In this and in what follows, Syriac differs with MT and LXX (Boling, 2003:456 and Hogg, 1901:150-53). Syriac may represent a creative reinterpretation and expansion of an older tradition. It has "and his daughter was left (= Sheerah שארה) at Lower and Upper Beth-horon." Syriac also has this daughter curing (cf MT רפה) both individuals and town. While "and Uzzen-sheerah) as found in MT and LXX^{B} "and the sons of Ozan (were) Sheera" (kai huioi Ozan Seera).

[102] As the daughter of Ephraim, Uzzen Sheerah is only mentioned here in the Hebrew Bible and "has not been identified with any certainty" (Sparks, 2008:205). Again, Sparks (2008:205) averse that Beth Horon is mentioned thirteen times in the Hebrew Bible: Upper Beth Horon (Joshua 16:5; 1 Chronicles 7:24; 2 Chronicles 8:5); Lower Beth Horon (Joshua 16:3; 18:13; 1 Kings 9:17; 1 Chronicles 7:24; 2 Chronicles 8:5); and not specified (Joshua

7:25 And Rephah was of Ephraim son, also Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son. Again, whose son is Rephah? Is he the son of Beriah, Ephraim, or Shuthelah (or one of his brothers if the vertical list of 1 Chronicles 7:20-21a should be read as a horizontal list of Ephraim's sons)? The pronouns are ambiguous. The antecedent of the phrase "his son Rephah" is unclear. One possibility is that it refers to Shuthehelah in verse 21. Unlike the genealogies for Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, and Manasseh, which are segmented in form, the genealogy of Ephraim follows a linear pattern.

Verses 26 Ladan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son. On what basis is Nun declared to be the son of Elishama (1 Chronicles 7:26b), when no other source so indicates this connection. Elishama son of Ammihud is regularly declared to be the leader of Ephraim during the exodus period (Numbers 1:10; 2:18; 7:48, 53; 10:22). Joshua is from the tribe of Ephraim (Numbers 13:8, 16). There is, however, no textual connection between Joshua and Elishama other than this, although it cannot be ruled out. In verse 26, "Ammihud, his son Elishama" which is a father-son combination appears in the wilderness census of Numbers 1. Elishama as a head of his ancestral house, represents the tribe of Ephraim in Numbers 1:10; 2:18; 7:48. Similarly, the genealogy of David establishes a link between him and Nahshon, son of Amminadab (Numbers 1:7), the head of his ancestral house, who represents Judah.

Regarding who are Ezer and Elead, and what relation are they to Ephraim, the text as it stands indicates that both Ezer and Elead are the sons of Ephraim, the son of Joseph. This, however, presents a number of difficulties. This is because other sources indicate that Ephraim was born in Egypt (Genesis 41:50-52). The question to ask is, what were his sons doing in Canaan on a raid to steal cattle? Did the men of Gath raid from Canaan to Egypt? In 1 Chronicles 7:21b-24, the phrase "men of Gath" interrupts the genealogy that continues to verse 25.[103] The story is intrusive, because it breaks the pattern of linear genealogy in verses 20-21a and verses 25-27. Nevertheless, its function is partly genealogical, explaining the birth of Ephraim's son, Beriah and the construction activities of his daughter Sheerah (Knoppers, 2004:464). Anecdotes and narrative digressions are a common phenomenon not only in the Chronicler's genealogies but also in the genealogies from ancient Mesopotamia and Greece. As seen above, and in the

10:10-11:1814; 21:22; 1 Samuel 13:18; 1 Chronicles 6:53 [6:68]; 2 Chronicles 25:13). 2 Chronicles 8:5 indicates that Solomon built both locations, but this could indicate that he "rebuilt" them (so NIV), as he also did to Gezer after it had been destroyed (1 Kings 9:17).

[103] In verse 25 "his son Resheph" so several Hebrew MSS and LXX^{L} in MT "Resheph and Telah" (rsp wtlh). "his son Telah" is the same in MT and LXX "Resheph and Telah his sons." For "Telah," LXX^{B} has Thalees, while LXX^{L} has Thala. With previous Resheph, (Boling, 2004:457 and Hogg, 1901) restores an original "Shuthelah" (swtlh > rsp wtlh). Hogg and Rudolph posit an original reduplication of names in verse 25 from verse 20 – (Shu)thelah, Tahath/n, Elead (ldh)/Ladan לַעְדָּן (ldn)- but the parallels are not as close as one would like and certain names, such as Bered and Rephah, do not fit the pattern.

present context, the digression may be misplaced, however. It evidently pertains to the time of the first Shuthelah as found in verse 20 and not to the second Shuthelah in verse 21a.

The Hebrew phrase נפל or יָרְדוּ "gone down" or "went down" (*yrdw*) meaning Ezer and Elead were from Jerusalem which is north. The two people go down from the north to south in Gath which was south Jerusalem and a low land to raid cattle (this is not clear whether it was Ezer and Elead's cattle was being raided or those of the men of Gad). Again, the use of יָרְדוּ yrdw "go down" indicates that this was a raid by Ephraimites upon Gath, as the idea of "going down" is more appropriate in speaking of going from the hills where Ephraim lived down onto the plains where Gath was located (Sparks, 2008:202). This can be considered as inappropriate for a journey from Egypt to Canaan and the building of the two Beth Horons in verse 24 is a natural activity for a clan who are already residents in the area (Sparks, 2008:199). The Hebrew language presupposes that Ephraim, his wife and his sons and daughter were all residing in the land, to be specific, in the hill country. In making this claim, one may assume: 1) that Ephraim in 1 Chronicles 7:22 may refer to the patriarch Ephraim, not to some otherwise unattested descendant of Ephraim, 2) that Ezer and Elead are Ephraim's sons or grandsons as found in verse 21b and not his distant descendants. If these assumptions are well-founded, the content of the anecdote conflicts with the presentation of Genesis and Exodus in which Ephraim is born in Egypt and never enters the Promised Land.

In order to be sure, the story does not presuppose that Ephraim and his sons were all native to the land they inhabit because it distinguishes Ezer and Elead from the men of Gath, "those born in the land" (verse 21). Knoppers (2004:464) expatiates that "given the description of the men of Gath as indigenous to the land, the implication would seem to be that Ezer and Elead were not "born in the land." However, since the story depicts Ephraim and his family living in the land, it cannot be reconciled with an Israelite sojourn in Egypt of 400 (Genesis 15:13) or 430 years (Exodus 12:40). On the other hand, if one wishes to reconcile the story with the Exodus, then the stay in Egypt would have had to last less than a generation.

Did Ezer and Elead raid from Egypt to Canaan? Sparks (2008:198) points out that this was mentioned as a view of the older "commentators," that is by Curtis, without specifying which people are referred to persons. He asks "[h]ow a little Israelite group, in order to plunder livestock, could advance through the isthmus-desert, the Negeb, to Philistine Gath, which is almost as far as Jerusalem." It is suggested that this incident refers to a later time and involves a clan associated with Ephraim (Sparks, 2008:198). It is possible that "Ephraim" here refers to

the tribe as a whole. The father Ephraim, who mourned his sons, is the tribe Ephraim.[104] This option is to be rejected for Ephraim if one considers "went in to his wife," which clearly indicates an individual, rather than the tribe as a whole.

The text indicates that Ephraim's brothers were also in Canaan, for they came to comfort him. There is no consensus among scholars on how to respond to each of these questions. The only consensus appears to be that this account is made up of divergent lists which the Chronicler has shaped according to a scheme of his own. The more accepted understanding is that this passage is derived from three primary sources which are the genealogy of Joshua (1 Chronicles 7:20, 21a, 25-27),[105] the account of Ezer and Elead (1 Chronicles 7: 21b- 24), and the list of dwelling places (1 Chronicles 7:28-29). Although Ephraim only had one brother (Manasseh), the phrase "his brothers" can be used to indicate a wider family members such as, uncles, cousins, and other relations. It should not, however, be taken to mean his descendants (the NIV translation is vague in this regard when it says "his relatives, "which can also refer to the descendants). For this reason, the text states that Ephraim's extended family, not simply his own offspring, dwelt in the land of Canaan (Sparks, 2008:199). If the aforementioned is accepted, then it must be concluded that the account of Ezer and Elead was deliberately divided into two separate parts. This is why the Chronicler no longer intended to be read as a continuous list, and this insertion itself must be of significance for the structure of the passage as a whole.

The old material (old tradition) describes Joshua as leading the people of Israel into the Promised Land Canaan.**[106]** For example, Ephraim was born in Egypt among the tribes that lived in Goshen. He stayed in Egypt untill the time of Moses. Moses takes the people of Israel across the Red Sea to the plain of Moab, and Joshua takes them across the Jordan into Canaan. The Chronicler attests that the men of Gath were born in Canaan. This is proven with the phrase "go down" or "Went down" in 1 Chronicles 7:21. It shows the intensity of the movement with a

[104] 1 Chronicles 7:22 recorded that "And Ephraim their father mourned many days . . . (NRSV). It is natural here to assume that Ephraim refers to the progenitor. But in the present passage the second Ephraim is a remote descendant of the first. However, this is a pseudo-problem which has arisen through the insertion of the anecdote in the genealogy. "And his brothers came to comfort him" in the Pentateuch Ephraim has only one brother, and his name is Manasseh. There is a contradiction here and this can be removed by translating relatives for example, using NIV, NAB and others translations (Dirksen, 2005:126).

[105] In verse 26, the name "Ladan" (ldn) cf MT Numbers 26:36, "belonging to Eran." The meaning "his son Ammihud" in LXX is huioi Amioueid, "sons of Ammihud." Again, "Non" (non) in LXX is Nomu; LXX^{L} Noun. The lemma of Vg (Nun) assimilates toward the standard nun (Exodus 33:11 [LXX Ναυη]; Numbers 11:28; 13:8, 16; Judges 2:8; Nehemiah 8:17) (Boling, 2004:457).

[106] The giving of the Promised Land Canaan to Israel was an important topic that runs through the Chronicles and the book of Joshua. This is because the land was Israel's "inheritance" or "possession" (Howard, 1998:77; 177). The land was Israel's "inheritance" or "possession," promised to Israel many years earlier. The land was God's gift to Israel. Yet, another perspectives shows that it was "taken" by Israel. While the land was God's gift to Israel, several different people engaged in giving the land and/or its inhabitants into the possession of different recipients. The land already belonged to Israel from one perspective, but on the other hand it was not yet theirs from another point of view.

phrase "go down" which entails that Ezer and Elead moved from a higher location of Jerusalem, which is north, to a lower place Gath which is in the south. Furthermore, the record in verse 24 that Sheerah built Lower Bethhoron, Upper Bethhoron and Uzzensheerah agrees with Joshua 16:1-15. The Chronicler differs from the old material by describing the tribes of Israel as a nation already in the land (Canaan). The argument will be that since the Chronicler is inclusive and peaceful, he avoided the violent story regarding the conquest of the land. In this regard, the inclusion of the person Joshua seems to presuppose the story. Thus, the inclusion of Joshua in the genealogy in Chronicles presumes the story of how Israel conquered the land of Canaan. It shows that the Chronicler is retelling the story in his own time and within his context.

In 1 Chronicles 7:28-29, the Chronicler presents a list of territories that are the possessions of the "sons of Joseph." In this record, Sparks (2008:200) opines that "[t]wo of the towns (Naaran and Ayyah; 1 Chronicles 7:28),[107] only occur here in the Hebrew Bible." Simon DeVries (1989:80) elucidates that famous cities were included, the chief of them being Bethel. The boundary cities were Gezer in the west, Shechem in the north, and Naaran (cf Joshua 16:7, Naarah) in the east. The above record agrees with Sparks (2008:200-2001) that Bethel and Gezer are presented in Joshua 16:1-3 as the eastern and western most settlements respectively of the Joseph tribes. Shechem is located in the "hill country of Ephraim" (Joshua 20:7 NRSV), and was a city of refuge. Each of the towns recorded in 1 Chronicles 7:29[108] were situated in a Manassite enclave in the tribal land of Issachar and Asher (Joshua 17:11), however, Manasseh never fully copied (Joshua 17:12).

Sparks (2008:201) submits that the above two verses represent the totality of Ephraimite and western Manassite territory. Not only is their main territory included (represented by Bethel to Gezer), but so is the small enclave within the territory of Issachar and Asher. Therefore, these two verses represent the entire land, just as the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 7:13-20a represent the entire people. In essence, in Joshua the land was an inheritance promised by YHWH to be a gift to Israel (unconditionally). While in the Chronicles, the land was a blessing with conditions attached to it. The people in Chronicles were to be righteous because YHWH is

[107] The name "Naaran" (naaran) in LXX is Naaman. LXX Noaran; MT Joshua 16:7 naarta "Ayyah" (עיה). So MT (lectio difficilior). CF LXX^{B} C_2 Gaian. The reading עזה is reflected in many Hebrew MSS, LXX^{AN} (Gazes), some Tg MSS, and Vg (Aza). Here the discrepancy reveals a zayin/yod confusion (Boling, 2004:457).

[108] The phrase "and under the control" MT wealyede is often translated "also along the borders" (examples NJPS) in conformity with LXX kai heos horion, "and until the borders." But lyd normally communicates subordination in Chronicles (example 1 Chronicles 25:2,3,6; 26:28; 29:8; 2 Hronicles 12:10; 17:5, 16; 26:11, 13; 31:15; 34:10, 17). Hence, it is better to view MT as indicating possession (so also REB). "Taanach and its dependencies in MT and LXX^{B} adds kai Bal (a)ad kai hai komai autes (και βαλ αδδκαι κομαι αθτες). It is possible that MT has suffered haplography (from wbntyh to wbntyh). MT Joshua 17:11 has additional sites (yibleam and en-dor), but none corresponds to LXX's Balaad (Boling, 2004:457).

righteous. The land was for the worship of YHWH, and failure to obey God was to face the consequences like in the case of Er 1 Chronicles 2:3; the fighting men in 1 Chronicles 5:18-22 and Ezer and Elead in 1 Chronicles 7:21.

6.3. Translation of the text/textual analysis of 1 Chronicles 7:20-29

In a similar manner as the previous chapter, in our analysis, we will start by presenting the text in Hebrew and own English translation. We will then follow with the summary of the text to ensure a better understanding of the narrative as told by the narrator.

6.3.1 Table 2. Own translation of 1 Chronicles 7:20-29

Verses	Hebrew Text	English Translation
20	וּבְנֵי אֶפְרַיִם שׁוּתֶלַח וּבֶרֶד בְּנוֹ וְתַחַת בְּנוֹ וְאֶלְעָדָה בְּנוֹ וְתַחַת בְּנוֹ׃	And the sons of Ephraim: Shuthelah his son, Bered his son, Tahath his son, Eleadah his son, and Tahath his son,
21	וְזָבָד בְּנוֹ וְשׁוּתֶלַח בְּנוֹ וְעֶזֶר וְאֶלְעָד וַהֲרֹגוּם אַנְשֵׁי־גַת הַנּוֹלָדִים בָּאָרֶץ כִּי יָרְדוּ לָקַחַת אֶת־מִקְנֵיהֶם׃	And Zabad his son, and Shuthelah his son, and Ezer and Elead. And the men of Gath who were born in the land killed Ezer and Elead because they came down to take their livestock.
22	וַיִּתְאַבֵּל אֶפְרַיִם אֲבִיהֶם יָמִים רַבִּים וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶחָיו לְנַחֲמוֹ׃	And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brothers came to comfort him.
23	וַיָּבֹא אֶל־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד בֵּן וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ בְּרִיעָה כִּי בְרָעָה בִּתּוֹ שֶׁאֵרָה וַתָּבֶן אֶת־בֵּית־חוֹרוֹן הַתַּחְתּוֹן וְאֶת־הָעֶלְיוֹן וְאֵת אֻזֵּן שֶׁאֵרָה׃ הָיְתָה בְּבֵיתוֹ׃	And Ephraim went in to his wife, and she conceived and bore a son; and he called his name Beriah, because evil had befallen his house.
24	וּבִתּוֹ שֶׁאֵרָה וַתָּבֶן אֶת־בֵּית־חוֹרוֹן הַתַּחְתּוֹן וְאֶת־הָעֶלְיוֹן וְאֵת אֻזֵּן שֶׁאֵרָה׃	And his daughter was Sheerah, who built both Lower and Upper Beth-horon, and Uzzen-sheerah.
25	וְרֶפַח בְּנוֹ וְרֶשֶׁף וְתֶלַח בְּנוֹ וְתַחַן בְּנוֹ׃	And Rephah was his son, and Resheph, and Telah his son, and Tahan his son,
26	לַעְדָּן בְּנוֹ עַמִּיהוּד בְּנוֹ אֱלִישָׁמָע בְּנוֹ׃	Ladan his son, Ammihud his son, Elishama his son,
27	נוּן בְּנוֹ יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּנוֹ׃	Nun his son, Joshua his son.
28	וַאֲחֻזָּתָם וּמוֹשְׁבוֹתָם בֵּית־אֵל וּבְנֹתֶיהָ וְלַמִּזְרָח נַעֲרָן וְלַמַּעֲרָב גֶּזֶר וּבְנֹתֶיהָ וּשְׁכֶם וּבְנֹתֶיהָ עַד־עַיָּה[109] וּבְנֹתֶיהָ׃	And their possessions and dwelling places were Bethel and its towns, and eastward Naaran, and westward Gezer and its towns, and Shechem and its towns, as far as Ayyah and its towns.

[109] Mlt MSS G^A עזח "Azzah."

29	וְעַל־יְדֵי בְנֵי־מְנַשֶּׁה בֵּית־שְׁאָן וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ תַּעְנַךְ וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ מְגִדּוֹ וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ דֹּור וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ בְּאֵלֶּה יָשְׁבוּ בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף בֶּן־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ פ	And by the borders of the sons of Manasseh, in Beth-shean and its towns, Taanach and its towns, Megiddo and its towns, Dor and its towns. In these dwelled the sons of Joseph son of Israel.

The above translation of the Text/Analysis of Joshua 6:1-27 and 1 Chronicles 7:20-2 was very helpful since these translations highlights some important points that we need to know about the texts of this study. The next section gives the summary of 1 Chronicles 7:20-29.

6.3.2 Summary of 1 Chronicles 7:20-29

1 Chronicles 7:20-29 presents Ephraim and his descendants. He had three sons, namely, Shuthelah, Ezer and Elead. Shuthelah had a son, Bered. Bered gave birth to Tahath, Tahath gave birth to Eleadah, and Eleadah gave birth to Tahath, who shared a name with his grandfather. Tahath gave birth to Zabad, Zabad gave birth to Shuthelah, who shared a name with his great, great, great, great grandfather. The other two brothers of Ephraim's son, Shuthelah, that is, Ezer and Elead were killed by the people of Gath. These people of Gath were people who were born in the land in which Ephraim and his family lived. They were killed because they went down to the people of Gath to raid the cattle of the people of Gath. Because of their death, their father, Ephraim, mourned many days. His brothers came to him to comfort him.

After some time, Ephraim gave birth to another son, Beriah. He called him Beriah, because his house had been befallen by disaster. He also gave birth to a daughter by the name of Sheerah. Sheerah built three cities, namely, Lower and Upper Beth-horon and Uzzen-sheerah. And his son, Beriah, gave birth to Rephah. Rephah gave birth to Resheph, Resheph to Telah, Telah to Tahan, Tahan to Ladan, Ladan to Ammihud, Ammihud to Elishama, Elishama to Nun and Nun to Joshua.[110] This family of Ephraim possessed the following settlements: Bethel and its towns, and eastward Naaran, and westward Gezer and its towns, Shechem and its towns, as far as Ayyah and its towns. Next to the land of the Ephraimites was the land of the Manassites. Their towns were Beth-shean and its towns, Taanach and its towns, Megiddo and its towns, Dor and its towns. In these areas were where the descendants of Joseph, the son of Jacob, lived.

[110] Looking at the genealogy of Joshua in 1 Chronicles 7:20-29, the Chronicler writes about the person, not the story. The Chronicler found Joshua to be an important personality in the history of Israel as a nation, and as such he gives his genealogy and not the conquest story of Canaan by Joshua.

6.3.3 An Analysis of the Text

Verses 20-21: These two verses present the first seven generations of Ephraim's descendants. Three pairs of these generations share names. Shuthelah, Tahath and Elead are names shared by three people each in this generational line. One of the dead son's name, Elead, is similar to one of Ephraim's grandsons, Eleadah. The repetition of these names causes problems for readers. Different scholars employ different strategies to make sense of these names in these verses. For Williamson, the Chronicler's names seem artificial when he considers Ephraim's children as presented in Numbers (1985:80). According to Numbers 26:35, the sons of Ephraim are Shuthelah, Becher and Tahan. Firstly, Shuthelah of Numbers is exactly the same as the Shuthelah of Chronicles. Becher of Numbers is similar but not the same with Bered of Chronicles. Tahan of Numbers is also similar but not the same with Tahath of Chronicles.

Secondly, in Numbers all of them are sons of Ephraim but in Chronicles Shuthelah is the son, Bered is the grandson and Tahath is the great grandson. For McKenzie, two parallel genealogies have been combined (2004:101). For Eugene H Merrill, "the Chronicler clearly depended on sources here that are no longer extant" (2015: 34). Furthermore, Merrill has a different understanding of this story. According to him, all the names in verses twenty-one and twenty-two are the sons of Ephraim amounting to nine sons and there are no grandchildren. Secondly, they all died, killed by the Gathites, whom he describes as Philistines.

Thirdly, it is the Gathites that came to raid the cattle and in the process killed Ephraim's sons. We are not going to engage with Merrill's understanding, for such an exercise will not enrich the intention of the study. It is just mentioned to indicate that there is one other understanding of this passage. It should suffice to quote Williamson in this regard: "The contrary view (e.g. that the men of Gath went down to Goshen to raid the Ephraimites' cattle) stretches credulity to breaking point" (1985:81). However, this study stands by the understanding as expressed in the summary above. All the above scholarly observations will not be engaged any further because they will not contribute valuably to the intentions of this study. They can be engaged in a different study. An observation that tremendously enriches our discussion is by Knoppers. For Knoppers, the genealogies in this chapter reveal something about the relationships between the Israelites and the other nations in the land. According to him:

> The lineages hint at a variety of links among the Israelite tribes and their neighbours. In spite of the occasional conflict (v. 21b), geographic and kinship relationships exist among members of different tribes and other groups (2004:472).

After we have discussed Joshua 6, the reader should get a hint already why the statement "geographic and kinship relationships exist among members of different tribes and other groups" is important. This is something that should not happen in the Deuteronomistic History. It is happening in the Chronistic History. That is why this statement is important. However, Knoppers' remark looks at the whole chapter, including other Israelite tribes. The incident in 1 Chronicles 7: 21b is an exception, hence "in spite of the occasional conflict (v. 21b)". For Jonker, this incident "hints at hostile relationships between the Ephraimites and some of the local inhabitants (i.e., peoples who had already occupied the land before the invasion of Israel from Egypt)" (2013:71). However, there is also another way of looking at this incident. It is the Israelites who became aggressive and raided the Gathites *who were born in the land*. For that, they paid the ultimate price; they died. Concerning this incident, Sparks postulates:

> It is probable that Ezer and Elead's raid, and its consequences, should be viewed in light of the Chronicler's other statements elsewhere in the genealogies. Success is seen as the result of crying to Yahweh (1 Chr 5:25-26), while failure is the consequence of unfaithfulness to Yahweh (1 Chr 5:25-26) (2008: 202).

While the study finds merit in Sparks' suggestion, it agrees with him in principle but looks somewhere else: at the *inclusio* of Adam and Cyrus. The question that the study wrestles with in this regard is why did God not protect the sons of Ephraim from the foreigners? One thing is certain, if God was with them, they would have not been killed. While pondering over this question, the study also finds it interesting that the Chronicler finds it necessary to specify that these Gathites were born in the land. In the reasoning of this study, to acknowledge somebody as a native of a particular land is to legitimate the presence of that person on that land. The study supposes that YHWH did not approve of their actions and therefore handed them over to the Gathites. Since all nations descend from Adam, all nations deserve justice in the eyes of YHWH. This is a different thought-pattern from what we perceived in the Deuteronomistic History. This argument will be picked up as the discussion progresses.

Verse 22: Ephraim mourned his sons for many days. His brothers came to comfort him. According to the known tradition, Ephraim had one brother, Manasseh.[111] It is surprising that many of his brothers came to comfort him. Maybe it was his relatives. However, what is somewhat strange is that in Chronicles Ephraim resided in the Promised Land while Genesis

[111] Ephraim was Joseph's younger son, born of Asenath, daughter of the high priest of On (Genesis 41:52; 46:20), adopted by Jacob with his brother Manasseh, and treated, some say, as his first born. In the listings of Chronicles, Ephraim precedes Manasseh in 1 Chronicles 12:31-32; 27:20; while Manasseh is first in 1 Chronicles 6:46-51, dependent upon Joshua 21:5-20; 7:20; and 2 Chronicles 34:9 (Braun, 1986:114-115).

15:13 and Exodus 12:40 state that the Israelites stayed four hundred years and four hundred and thirty years respectively. Commenting on this issue, Sara Japheth avers:

> According to the story of Genesis, Ephraim was born in Egypt to his father Joseph and to his Egyptian mother Asenath, as was his only brother, Manasseh (Gen 41:50-52). They both died in Egypt with all the sons of Jacob (Exod 1:6). Only the fourth generation was delivered by Moses from the bondage of Egypt, but except for Joshua and Caleb all were doomed to die in the wilderness and never entered the land (Num 35). According to this tradition, then, Ephraim never was in the land of Israel and could not have been there: he was born in Egypt and died there. The tradition of 1 Chr 7:20-24 and that of the Pentateuch are thus exclusive and, understood on their own terms, virtually irreconcilable (1979:214; cf. also Williamson, 1985:464; McKenzie, 2004:101; Knoppers, 2004: 464-465).

An alternative explanation can be that the Chronicler preserves an alternative tradition (Knoppers, 2004:492; McKenzie, 2004:101-102). However, for this study it is not out of line with the Chronicler's broader approach, if we remember that the Chronicler replaced the Exodus story with the genealogies as an introduction to his narrative. The indisputable fact is that, in this case of Ephraim, the Chronicler is definitely not with the Exodus tradition, which is the basis for the Deuteronomistic History.[112]

Verse 23-24: After Ephraim had mourned the disaster that befell his house, he gave birth to a son and he named him Beriah, for disaster had befallen his house. He also gave birth to a daughter by the name of Sheerah.[113] Sheerah built both Lower and Upper Beth-horon, and

[112] Since the Chronicler was retelling the same literature in a different way as found in the book of Joshua, the Ephraim story and that of Joshua was presented differently. The aim was to show and encouraged the unity of Israel as a nation. In a situation where a text presents a conflicting ideas, one should understand that it is not that the text is complex but rather it is because the text talks about a complex reality. The complexity of a text can be traced if one looks at the text as a whole. In this case, both old tradition (Pentateuch) and the Chronicler describe the same historical Ephraim. Again the old material describes Ephraim to be born and died in Egypt with only one brother Manasseh, but the Chronicler describes the tribe of Ephraim and his brothers to be in Canaan already (Tuell, 2001:39). The text further indicates that "his brothers" were also in Canaan, for they came to comfort him (Sparks, 2008:199). These reflections are contradictory, and it could be that the Chronicler inserted some parts of it.

[113] While Sheerah as the daughter of Beriah would make the most sense as Beriah is the nearest referent to the term "his daughter," the Chronicler frequently places daughters at the end of a list, after all the sons are mentioned, even if the sons are younger than the daughter (cf. 1 Chronicles 5:29 [6:3], "the children of Amram: Aaron, Moses, Miriam"). The clause "She built Lower and Upper Beth-horon" is recorded in the MT. In this and in what follows, Syriac differs with MT and LXX (Boling, 2003:456 and Hogg, 1901:150-53). Syriac may represent a creative reinterpretation and expansion of an older tradition. It has "and his daughter was left (= Sheerah שׁארה) at Lower and Upper Beth-horon." Syriac also has this daughter curing (cf MT רפה) both individuals and town. While "and Uzzen-sheerah) as found in MT and LXX^{B} "and the sons of Ozan (were) Sheera" (και υιοι Ozan Seera).
As the daughter of Ephraim through Beriah, Uzzen Sheerah is only mentioned here in the Hebrew Bible and "has not been identified with any certainty" (Saprks, 2008:205). Again, Saprks (2008:205) averse that Beth Horon is mentioned thirteen times in the Hebrew Bible: Upper Beth Horon (Joshua 16:5; 1 Chronicles 7:24; 2 Chronicles

Uzzen-Sheerah. Since the building of the cities was an occupation of kings in Old Testament tradition, Sheerah is an unusually powerful woman. However, the credit does not have to remain with Sheerah alone. The Chronicler does also deserve some recognition for bringing somebody like Sheerah to the fore. A fair remark on the Chronicler concerning the Characterization of women is by Funlola Olojede when she says:

> The data in the foregoing suggests a deliberate attempt on the part of the Chronicler to highlight the role and status of women not only in the genealogies of the tribes of Israel but also in the overall narrative. He conscientiously showed, even when the existing biblical texts could have constrained him, that women were part of Israel's story. Could this be another strategy by the Chronicler to affirm his concept of כָּל־עִשָּׂרָאֵל - an "all Israel," which included the bond and the free, the native and the foreign born, the entrepreneur and the widow, the queen mother and the single parent; an "all Israel" that included the princess and the pauper, the queen and the concubine, the female religious leader and the divorced? (2011:183).

Verses 25-27: These verses present Ephraim's descendants by his son Beriah. They are, in their chronological order, Rephah, Resheph, Telah, Tahan, Ladan, Ammihud, Elishama, Nun, Joshua. For the interest of this study, this is the climax of this pericope. These descendants are ten generations after Ephraim. Of most interest is the last of them all, Joshua, son of Nun. Conspicuously absent is a statement about Joshua's role in the conquest in the Exodus generally. Japhet's remark concerning this genealogy is quite thought-provoking. She says:

> The same independent concept of history, with apparent overtones, is found in the pedigree of Joshua (1 Chr 7:25-27). Joshua is depicted here as the tenth generation to Ephraim, while according to the Pentateuch he is probably the fourth (1979: 214).

Is it not re-orientation of "history"? Knoppers describes the Chronicler's genealogy of Ephraim as, to a certain extent, an intellectual exercise. The Chronicler ties "one figure in the Ancestral period (Ephraim) to another prominent figure in a later period (Joshua). No attempt is made to trace Ephraim's genealogy beyond Joshua" (2004:473). The Chronicler just stops at Joshua, no remark made and not again is Joshua mentioned in the Book of Chronicles. Sparks notices that while the Conquest of Canaan under Joshua is not expressly mentioned in Chronicles, "the

8:5); Lower Beth Horon (Joshua 16:3; 18:13; 1 Kings 9:17; 1 Chronicles 7:24; 2 Chronicles 8:5); and not specified (Joshua 10:10-11:1814; 21:22; 1 Samuel 13:18; 1 Chronicles 6:53 [6:68]; 2 Chronicles 25:13). 2 Chronicles 8:5 indicates that Solomon built both locations, but this could indicate that he "rebuilt" them (so NIV), as he also did to Gezer after it had been destroyed (1 Kings 9:17).

Chronicler's use of the book of Joshua as a source for the land holdings of the Levites and Simeonites indicates his, and possibly the community's acquaintance with the accounts contained in that work and the role of Joshua in the initial gaining of the Canaan" (2007:305). Japheth's comment on this state of affairs is quite conscientising. She says:

> It has been pointed out by various scholars, with different interpretations, that in the book of Chronicles the exodus is not afforded the same major theological significance that it has throughout the deuteronomistic literature. As the deuteronomistic historiography is the Chronicler's main source, this is all the more surprising and meaningful. It is not only that the story of the exodus is not told in Chronicles and that the whole historical framework in which it is set is absent, but even the references to the exodus in other texts are often omitted in the parallel texts in Chronicles (1979:217).

This study fully agrees with Japhet's observation that "even the references to the Exodus in other texts are often omitted in the parallel texts in Chronicles." This is actually the basis for the study to argue that the Chronicler deliberately avoided the Exodus. He was, in fact, fostering an obedience to YHWH that did not entail hostility to foreigners and an election that did not advocate the annihilation of the "Canaanites"; which were constitutive of the concept of Exodus. Being conscious of the prominence of Joshua, the Chronicler presents Joshua in 1 Chronicles 7:27 as the tenth generation after Ephraim who was already settled in the land. The implications for this observation are intelligibly expressed by Japhet when she says:

> The direct line from Ephraim, who is living and functioning in the land, to Joshua ties Joshua to the land as well, and the consequences of that bond cannot be exaggerated. In the major biblical tradition it is Joshua who represents the period and the idea of the conquest… In 1 Chronicles 7 the historical situation which provides the necessary conditions for Joshua's activity is absent. By his being a descendant of Ephraim who is in the land, possibility of the accepted tradition is ruled out. Joshua did not conquer the land, he simply was there (1979:213-214).

Fully agreeing with Japhet's assertion, the study can only agree with Knoppers when he says: "indeed, the very fact that the Chronicler finds it necessary to contest, restructure and supplement past traditions indicates that those traditions no longer met the needs of his contemporary situation" (2004:473).

With this perception, let us now proceed to examine Joshua's Characterization in 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. As it was with the previous chapter, a conclusion that the discussion comes to will

construed as representative of the ideological stance of the Chronistic History in general. To remind the reader again, all this endeavour serves the quest for a proper ethnic theology for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. As it happened in the previous chapter, the Characterization of Joshua will take a cumulative form, starting by examining the Characterization of YHWH, then of the Israelites and finish with the Characterization of Joshua.

6.4 The Characterization of Joshua, the Son of Nun

Joshua in the Book of Chronicles appears only once in a genealogy. In this one instance he says or does nothing. His name is just mentioned by the narrator. This somehow complicates the delineation of the role of Joshua as a character in Chronicles. Nevertheless, we are inspired by the fact that characters in a narrative are the creation of the narrator. We are also stimulated by Jonker's perception that while we cannot merely rely on biblical records like Chronicles on information about the outlook of the flesh-and-blood society of the author, historical books such as Chronicles still reflect something of the self-understanding of that community. Even though this self-understanding is not necessarily the reflection of the flesh-and-blood society itself, it still does give a good impression of the self-understanding phenomena within the Yehudite community (2008:703). As observed above, it is this good impression that Knoppers senses when he says that "the very fact that the Chronicler finds it necessary to contest, restructure and supplement past traditions indicates that those traditions no longer met the needs of his contemporary situation" (2004:473).

This study perceives the role of Joshua in this passage in this spirit. The study deciphers the portrayal of Joshua in Chronicles as a response to a tradition that Joshua represents and a statement about that tradition and thus an ideological statement by the author. The author's ideology that is reflected in the narrative also hints on the ideological contestations of the community of the author. The activity and the inactivity of a character in a narrative depends on the judgements of the author and either way, can still reflect the ideological propositions of the author. Knoppers' statement, that the Chronicler's genealogy of Ephraim is, to a certain extent, an intellectual exercise, is understood in this light. Understood in this sense, the fact that Joshua appears once without saying or doing something does not preclude a delineation of his Characterization in the Chronistic History. The next section of the study considers the Characterization of God under retribution upon the wicked: a just and universal God.

6.4.1 Retribution upon the Wicked: A Just and Universal God

Characterizing God in this passage is not an easy task. There is no reference to God in this anecdote. However, the title that Sparks gave for the section discussing the story of Ezer and

Elead is interesting. He titled it *Retribution upon the Wicked and the Provision of a Godly Warrior*. The first part of this title we adopt for this subsection for characterizing God. The role of God in this passage is implied. The incident of Ezer and Elead provides an opportunity to think about God in this passage. The best way of understanding the character of God in this passage is to explore the incident of the death of Ezer and Elead. Ezer and Elead invaded the land of the people of Gath, the natives of the land, to steal their cattle. Their deed resulted in their death. A deeper thought on this incident brings the principle of retribution to memory.[114] A brief explanation of the principle of retribution might be in order.

Marc A Jolley presents a brief and concise description of retribution saying: "Whether between God and humans or between human beings, retribution is the act of getting what one deserves, either by human standards or by divine decree" (2000:122). Expressed in a formulaic form, we utilize what Brueggemann says was proposed by Klaus Koch in 1955, namely, "a construct of 'deeds-consequences'" (2005:338). A construct of "deeds-consequences" means a bad deed leads to a bad consequence and a good deed leads to a good consequence. However, according to Brueggemann, Koch's understanding of the process of deed-consequence is that God does not necessarily have to be involved, for the process self-regulates itself. A good act automatically leads to a good consequence and a bad act automatically leads to a bad result. He makes an example of a lazy person who, due to laziness becomes poor, without the intrusion of any punishing agent. He also makes an example of carelessness in choosing friends. That will produce a life of dissolution by itself. This is definitely not how it operates in Chronicles.

The study agrees with Brueggemann's perception on how retribution works in ancient Israel's understanding. Brueggemann responds as follows to Koch's understanding of retribution: "But, according to Israel, Yahweh is nonetheless indispensable for the process. This is not, in Israel's horizon, a self-propelled system of sanctions, but it is an enactment of Yahweh's sovereign, faithful intentionality" (1992:338). This is how this study understands the principle of retribution in the Hebrew Bible and thus argues that God is involved in the incident of Ezer and Elead. This now provides grounds to examine God's Characterization in 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. Having established God as a character in this anecdote, the study continues to examine the kind of retribution that is operative in this incident. In the Old Testament, retribution is either deferred or immediate. It is deferred when later generations suffer the consequences of the sins

[114] The book of Chronicles contains the most teaching in the Bible on the theology of individual retribution. This concept states that fidelity to God is rewarded while infidelity is punished in this life. Retribution is a rational for everyone in Chronicles. Retribution was not an issue in the book of Joshua for the Canaanites to be killed. This could be the reason why Ezer and Elead were killed by the Gathites. As for the Chronicler, punishment followed Israel's sin with unerring stroke but at the same time repentance was always possible. This could reverse the punishment or at least modify it (Céline, 1982:8).

of their forefathers. It is immediate when the performer of the deed suffers the consequences of his or her deed immediately. Against this background, Raymond B Dillard argues as follows:

> The Chronicler's adherence to a "theology of immediate retribution" provides his dominant compositional technique, particularly formative in his reshaping of the history of Judah after the schism. "Retribution theology" refers to the author's apparent conviction that reward and punishment are not deferred, but rather follow immediately on the heels of the precipitating events. For the Chronicler sin always brings judgment and disaster, while obedience and righteousness yield the fruit of peace and prosperity. Even a cursory reading of the text reveals the contours of the writer's convictions; they are both (1) specifically articulated and (2) demonstrated in his reshaping of narratives (1984:165).

Dillard asserts that in Chronicles one finds immediate retribution. However, this is not a universal view. John W Wright has a different view from that of Dillard. According to Wright, the theme of immediate retribution cannot be denied as a component of the Chronicler's narrative. However, immediate retribution "is generally overstressed by its proponents. The Chronicler also advances the idea of transgenerational sin and even inexplicable events" (Wright 2008:208). It is not in the interest of this discussion to engage in this debate now. This does not mean the study will not respond when a need arise as the discussion unfolds. For now, it is enough for the study to say, both Dillard and Wright acknowledge the presence of immediate retribution in the Book of Chronicles, although, for Wright "the Chronicler also advances the idea of transgenerational sin and even inexplicable events". The study therefore argues that the story of Ezer and Elead is one of those times when the Chronicler uses immediate retribution. Thus, God is involved in the conflict of Ezer and Elead on the one hand, and the people of Gath on the other and He applies immediate retribution.

Since the study is interested in an ethnic theology, the involvement of God in the incident of Ezer and Elead will be examined in relation to the ethnic groups involved in the conflict. Ezer and Elead are Israelites and the people of Gath are the Canaanites.[115] When the two Israelites decided to go and steal the cattle of the Canaanites, God had to judge the act of these Israelites

[115] 3 (from the Shihor, which is east of Egypt, northward to the boundary of Ekron, it is reckoned as Canaanite; there are five rulers of the Philistines, those of Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron), and those of the Avvim.

and apply His justice. He applied the principle of immediate retribution and Ezer and Elead died.[116] This scenario raises the question of the status of foreigners to God of Israel.

To respond to this question, we will first present Kaminsky and Steward's remarks concerning this question in Second Isaiah. We present these remarks to use them to respond to this question for our text. They argue as follows:

> In no uncertain terms, Second Isaiah proclaims that YHWH is God and there is no other. The text does not allow for the existence of foreign deities as do earlier texts such as Genesis, Deuteronomy, and Joshua. This development appears significant for the understanding of the nations' relationship to Israel and her God. Deuteronomy may show little concern for the welfare of the foreign nations because foreign nations have their own gods, whom YHWH allotted to them. However, as Second Isaiah asserts the nonexistence of the foreign deities, even the foreign nations will turn and recognize the ultimate sovereignty of Israel's God. With the futility of their own gods exposed, do foreigners now look to YHWH for salvation just as Israel does? Below we will argue that Second Isaiah himself is not primarily concerned with this question, his ultimate rhetorical aim being the exaltation of Israel's God. However, the means by which the prophet argues his case – that is, the denial of the foreign gods – represents a development of the divine economy which would inevitably raise the question of the status of foreigners. Later interpreters have wrestled with the implications of Second Isaiah's argument and continue to do so today (Kaminsky & Stewart, 2006:143).

The main idea in these remarks is that the denial of the foreign gods represents a development of the divine economy which would inevitably raise the question of the status of foreigners to YHWH. This research will now briefly examine the relationship of the foreigners with YHWH in order to make a judgement on the case of Ezer and the people of Gath. Above it was indicated that Adam and Cyrus form an i*nclusio* to the whole Book of Chronicles. Adam is the ancestor of all humanity; Israelite and non-Israelite. Cyrus is portrayed as a messiah that brings restoration to the Judeans in the Babylonian exile and who instructs the reconstruction of the

[116] The Ezer and Elead episode shows that the Chronicler's theology includes violence, but changes its position to that of Joshua regarding the Israelites people, with the result that righteousness becomes the theological basis for violence instead of covenant. For example, the theological basis of violence in Joshua was the covenant. This is because Israel was on the side of YHWH through covenant. The land was an inheritance promised to them by YHWH as a gift and no effort was attached. Since YHWH is a covenant keeping God, violence was justified in Joshua and not in the Chronicles. In the Chronicler's theology, righteousness was the basis for violence. God was on the side of both the Israelites and the Canaanites. To show this, Ezer and Elead, Er in 1 Chronicles 2:3, the scenario in 1 Chronicles 5:20, 5:25; 9:1 and Uzzah in 13:6-11 has to suffer the consequences of their wrong doing.

temple in Jerusalem. By presenting Adam as the proto-human the Chronicler does not acknowledge the divinity of the foreign gods. He brings the foreigners under the jurisdiction of YHWH. At this point the researcher would like to revoke a statement used above which was made by Sparks concerning the intention of the Chronicler by featuring the other nations in the genealogies. Responding to arguments that 1 Chronicles 1, which features the other nations, legitimises Israel or demonstrates Israel's privileged relationship with YHWH. Sparks retorts by saying then it must be legitimising the other nations as well because they also get part of the Chronicler's attention (2008: 323). Our conclusion on the relationship of foreigner to YHWH in Chronicles is entailed in a statement by Jonker when he says:

> Chronicles teaches us that Yahweh is a universal God. By starting the historical construction with Adam and by ending his history with Cyrus, the Persian emperor speaking on behalf of Yahweh, the Chronicler shows that Yahweh's power is universal and not limited to the boundaries of Yehud and All-Israel. In this respect, Chronicles shows similarities with some other biblical writings (such as Jonah) (2013:29).

YHWH's power is universal and not limited to the boundaries of Yehud and all-Israel. YHWH is universal.

To conclude this part of our discussion, let us return to Ezer and Elead and the people of Gath. Because YHWH is universal He judged the case of Ezer and Elead and the people of Gath without favour. He looked at the act of stealing as a wrong act and delivered His justice of immediate retribution.[117] He judged the case without discriminating against any ethnic group. All nations were created by Him. He created Adam and all nations descended from Adam. In this passage, God is characterised as a universal God. The portrayal of God in Chronicles 7:20-29 evinces an inclusive ethnic theology. Let us now move to examine the Characterization of Israel.

6.4.2 Israel among the Nations

In this passage the Israelites are settled among the nations and, according to the Chronicler's emphasis that they are natives of the land, the Israelites acknowledged the nations' presence in the land. The fact that Ephraim stayed in the land means in this story, Israelites settled in the land without the Exodus. According to this version of the settlement therefore, there was no Exodus (Japhet, 1979: 213-214; Knoppers, 2004:464). The Israelites settled peacefully in the

[117] Even though it is often indicated that the Chronicler holds to a doctrine of "immediate retribution" as agreed in this study, this scenario of Ezer and Elead can or should be understood to refer to the lifetime of the guilty rather than "instantaneous" (Sparks, 2008:203).

land. The conflict of Ezer and Elead and the people of Gath, it seems, was just an unfortunate incident of mere criminality. For Knoppers, this incident was an exception (Knoppers, 2004:464). This should not be a surprise anyway, taking into account the Chronicler's introduction of Adam. Israel is introduced a nation among other nations on earth. That is how the Israelites are portrayed in this passage; as nations stationed among other nations. The portrayal of the Israelites therefore, exhibits an inclusive ethnic theology.

6.4.3 Joshua: A Resident of Canaan

Joshua is the tenth generation after Ephraim, who already was in the land. Japhet concludes as follows about 1 Chronicles 7:20-29:

> In 1 Chronicles 7 the historical situation which provides the necessary conditions for Joshua's activity is absent. By his being a descendant of Ephraim who is in the land, the possibility of the accepted tradition is ruled out. Joshua did not conquer the land, he simply was there (1979:213-214).

Joshua did not conquer the land. He did not kill everything that breathes in Jericho. He did not curse any person who would rebuild Jericho after he, Joshua, had destroyed it. He did not advocate an anti-Canaanite theology. Joshua's portrayal in Chronicles exhibits an inclusive ethnic theology.

6.5. 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 and the Broader Theological Discourse of the Covenant

In the previous chapter the covenant was discussed extensively. The covenant that underlies the theology of the Deuteronomistic History was identified as the Mosaic covenant. Now that Joshua's Characterization has been described as evincing an inclusive ethnic theology, it is proper to examine the covenant that underlies the Chronistic History as well. Concerning the covenant in the Old Testament, Knoppers asserts that "apart from Deuteronomy, no biblical book mentions divine election as often as Chronicles does… Indeed, there are no cases in Chronicles in which YHWH elects a given person and then later rejects him" (2015:141-142). In the Deuteronomistic History we read of some moments when YHWH rejects or threatens to reject. For example, Saul was rejected as king (1 Samuel 15:23, 26; 1 Samuel16:1, 7), all the descendants of Israel were rejected (2 Kings 17:20) and Jerusalem was threatened to be rejected (2 Kings 23:27). According to Knoppers, the absence of rejection in Chronicles is consistent. He observes that:

> The writers of Chronicles reproduce all of the references in Kings speaking of YHWH's election of Jerusalem that are relevant to their purposes. Yet they do not reproduce the

> explicit divine rejection of Jerusalem situated in one of the appendices to the account of Josiah's reign (2 Kgs 23.26–27)" (2015: 142).

However, in this particular passage, there is no explicit expression of a covenant. Nevertheless, one can still deduce some covenantal implications from the passage. For example, the theme of peace in the land is implied. Criminals who attempted to disrupt peace by stealing the cattle of non-Israelites who legitimately lived on the land are immediately silenced (21b) and thereafter blessings of progeny abound in peace (23-27). Additionally, the subsequent construction of cities by Sheerah also implies a peaceful environment. Construction of cities can only thrive in peaceful circumstances. Sparks raises an important uncertainty which has implication for the importance of peace in this passage. He raises the uncertainty of whether Ephraim mourned the behaviour of his sons or simply their death (2008:187-188). If Ephraim mourned the behaviour of his sons, the study will view that as a sign that Ephraim attached great importance to peaceful living, and thus the Chronicler highly revered peace among different nations. The strange specification of the people of Gath as natives of the land leads the study to intuit that Ephraim mourned the behaviour of his sons. Of course, he mourned the death of his sons, however, how they died was disgraceful. Disgraceful because of theft and because of undermining the peace with the neighbours, the people of Gath. The study concludes that peaceful co-existence with non-Israelites in the Promised Land, although not explicitly announced, is a significant theme in this passage.

Taking note of the discussion in the previous chapter, one thing becomes clear, and that is this passage is definitely not based on the Mosaic covenant. In this case, let us examine whether there is any connection between this passage and the Davidic covenant. To delineate the Davidic covenant, Grisanti appeals to Royal Psalms which "draw heavily on the idea of a Davidic dynasty and presuppose the covenant God established with David" (1999: 243-244). Drawing from Psalm 72, he depicts a Davidic king who embodies the Davidic covenant as follows:

> By personal example and deed, the Davidic king was to promote righteousness and justice in the land (v. 1). He would do this by defending the cause of the afflicted, weak, and helpless and by crushing their oppressors (vv. 2, 4, 12-14). The ideal Davidic ruler would occasion the national experience of peace, prosperity, and international recognition (cf. vv. 3, 5-11, 15-17) (1999: 243-244).

Reading 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 with the above delineation in mind, the study makes the following observations. Grisanti says "the Davidic king was to promote righteousness and

justice in the land… by defending the cause of the afflicted… by crushing their oppressors." In 1 Chronicles 7: 21b Ezer and Elead are crushed for oppressing the people of Gath. In the view of Grisanti, "the ideal Davidic ruler would occasion… the national experience of peace." As has been established above already, after the death of Ephraim's sons, peace prevailed. Grisanti continues to say "the ideal Davidic ruler would occasion… prosperity." In 1 Chronicles 7:24 the construction of cities by Sheerah signals prosperity. Looking at this comparison, the study concludes that the Davidic covenant is reflected in the community of Ephraim in 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. The ultimate conclusion therefore is that 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 is based on the Davidic covenant.

Referring to Eugene H Merrill's insights, Grisanti mentions two things about the Davidic covenant that are important for this discussion. The first one is that "the Davidic Covenant is theologically rooted in the Abrahamic Covenant." The second one is that "God had pledged to produce through Abraham a line of kings that would find its historical locus in Israel, but would have ramifications extending far beyond Israel" (1999:248). In the context of our study that is interested in an ethnic theology, the rootedness of the Davidic covenant in the Abrahamic covenant evokes the promise that Abraham would be a blessing to all the nations of the earth. Grisanti expresses this promise in Davidic covenantal perspective when he says "God had pledged to produce through Abraham a line of kings that would find its historical locus in Israel, but would have ramifications extending far beyond Israel." This expression is discernible in 1 Chronicles 7:20-29.

The focus of God's blessings is on Ephraim and his descendants, however, God's blessing does extend beyond Ephraim when God exhibits indiscriminate justice on behalf of the people of Gath against Ephraim's sons. This observation leads this study to conclude that 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 is based on the Davidic covenant and evinces an inclusive ethnic theology. This conclusion is justifiable if one considers that 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 is squeezed between Adam as the proto-human and Cyrus who is mandated by YHWH as the saviour of the Judeans in exile; which is an expression of an inclusive ethnic theology. 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 therefore is representative of the Chronistic History and exhibits and inclusive ethnic theology. Having made this claim, it is fair to demonstrate the upholding of the Davidic covenant in Chronicles.

The point of departure is what has already been stated above, the Chronicler's introduction to his monarchical narrative. There is no doubt that the Chronicler's source for his monarchical narrative is Samuel-Kings. However, the Chronicler ignored parts and modified parts of the introduction to the monarchical narrative of Samuel-Kings. The introduction to the monarchical narrative in Samuel-Kings is the story of the Exodus. The Exodus consists of two parts, the

departure from Egypt and the settlement of the Promised Land. He ignored the departure and modified the settlement. The settlement also consists of two parts, the conquest and the division of the land. The Chronicler ignored the conquest and modified the division of the land. The Chronicler changed even the genre of the introduction. The introduction in the Deuteronomistic History is narrative and in the Chronistic History is genealogies. The Chronicler, while his source for the monarchical narrative is Samuel-Kings, decided to use Genesis 5, 10 and 11 for the introduction to his monarchical narrative. The study is convinced that this approach was a conscious decision, among other reasons, to introduce a different covenant on which to base the monarchical narrative that is going to follow. The Exodus narrative is synonymous to Moses and thus to the Mosaic covenant. While Moses is at the centre of the introduction to the Deuteronomistic History monarchical narrative, he is relegated to the margins in the introduction to Chronistic History monarchical narrative. Illuminating this scenario, Japhet states as follows:

> It has been pointed out by various scholars, with different interpretations, that in the book of Chronicles the exodus is not afforded the same major theological significance that it has throughout the deuteronomistic literature (1979:217).

What Japhet says is already obvious in the replacement of the Exodus by the genealogies as an introduction. Above, Knoppers was quoted indicating that while there seems to be no clear connection between the genealogies and the narrative, the Chronicler, actually, planned his work systematically. He indicated that both end with exile (1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 36:17-21), charge the deportation to infidelity (1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 36:12-16), and announce a return (1 Chr 9:2-34; 2 Chr 36:22-23) (Knoppers, 2004:487). The same systematic planning is evident in the case of the Davidic and Mosaic covenants. What Japhet has indicated above in general terms, will be demonstrated below in particular terms. In a more specific context, Jonker affirms what Japhet has asserted above when he remarks on 2 Chronicles 3:2 as follows:

> The Chronicler, however, omits the reference to the exodus in the source text[118], which indicates that the building of the temple was started "in the four hundred and eightieth year after the Israelites had come out of Egypt." Many commentators note that the Chronicler does not give prominence to the exodus event. Together with the previous verse, this verse creates the impression that the cultic community of Israel should seek its foundations in ancestral times and not in the exodus event (which was still

[118] The source text is 1 Kings 6:1, which is a Deuteronomistic text.

> constitutive for the Deuteronomistic version). This might be an indication that the Chronicler foresaw a future that was rooted in the ancestral promise rather than in the obedience associated with the exodus and desert wanderings (Jonker, 2013: 180; Cezula, 2016: 283).

In the case referred to by Jonker, the Chronicler omits the phrase "after the Israelites came out of the land of Egypt". This phrase is in 1 King 6:1 but is omitted in the parallel in 2 Chronicles 3:2. In 2 Chronicles 6 the Chronicler replaces references to the Exodus and Moses which are in 1 Kings 8 with David. In a study of these chapters, Cezula identifies that in 1 Kings 8:50, 51 and 53 YHWH is requested to be merciful to Israel when they are captives because of the redemption from Egypt and the covenant with Moses. A parallel of these verses is 2 Chronicles 6:41-42. However, the Chronicler replaces these verses by inserting Psalm 132:8-10 which asks for mercy because of the covenant with David. Therefore, Cezula concludes that "Psalm 132:8-10 is used here to cause a discontinuity between the two versions of Solomon's prayer and to emphasise the Davidic covenant over the Mosaic covenant" (2016:283-284). Acknowledging the significance of David over Moses, Sunwoo Hwang remarks as follows:

> In the Old Testament, the dominant recipients of the honorary title, YHWH's עֶבֶד are Moses and David, 37 times and 38 times respectively. Klein observes that while YHWH's עֶבֶד applies to Moses, Joshua, and David in the Deuteronomistic history, the Chronicler uses the title only for David (2011:255).

Lastly, in 1 Chronicles 16:8-36 the Chronicler presents a Psalm which is a combination of three Psalms from the Psalter, namely, of Psalms 96, 105 and 106. In these psalms the Chronicler's preference of David over Moses is evident. He puts Psalm 105 first. This Psalm has forty-five verses. The Chronicler only chooses the first fifteen verses (1 Chronicles 16:8-22). Psalm 105:16-45 start from Joseph's movement to Egypt and relate the story. The Chronicler omitted these verses. The next psalm is Psalm 96 with thirteen verses. He uses all of this Psalm with some alterations here and there. The third Psalm is Psalm 106. This psalm has forty-eight verses. He only includes the last two verses, 47 and 48 (1 Chronicles 16:35-36). The omitted verses refer to Egypt and the Exodus. Again, the Chronicler denies Exodus and Moses the significance they enjoy in these Psalms. These few incidences demonstrate the Chronicler's bias in favour of the Davidic covenant over the Mosaic covenant. The study can thus not help but agree with Jonker when he says: "This might be an indication that the Chronicler foresaw a future that was rooted in the ancestral promise rather than in the obedience associated with the exodus and desert wanderings".

6.6. Summary and Conclusion

Chapter five has been examining the Characterization of Joshua, the son of Nun, in the Book of Chronicles, particularly in 1 Chronicles 7:20-29, to determine the Characterization of Joshua in the Chronistic History. The intention was to establish the ethnic theology that is evinced by Joshua as a character in this text. The reasoning is that the Characterization of Joshua in this chapter is a representative of such Characterization in other chapters as well. In the same vein, the study is also convinced that the ethnic theology exhibited by the character of Joshua is also a representative of the ethnic theology advocated by the Chronistic History in general. The outcome of this examination will be compared with the outcome of the previous examination in the quest for a proper theology that can help in the prevention of ethnic conflict in Northern Nigeria.

The discussion unfolded in the same manner as in the previous chapter. We placed 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 within the broader Book of Chronicles and the relevant theological tradition. We then proceeded to the text itself, 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. Similar to the previous discussion, the section unfolded into four phases. The first one was the verse by verse discussion of 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. The second was the presentation of the text in Hebrew and own English translations. The third was a summary of the narrative to assure that the text has been properly understood. The fourth was an analysis of the text which culminated in the establishment of an ethnic theology discernible in this text. The text fosters an obedience to YHWH that did not entail hostility to foreigners and an election that did not advocate the annihilation of the Canaanites. It thus advocates an inclusive ethnic theology. The next phase was the discussion of the Characterization of Joshua. This discussion also culminated in the disclosure of the ethnic theology exhibited by Joshua in his Characterization. It took a cumulative form, starting with the Characterization of YHWH and the Characterization of the Israelites, concluding with the Characterization of Joshua himself. In this passage, God was characterised as a universal God.

The portrayal of God in Chronicles 7:20-29 evinces an inclusive ethnic theology. The next step was to characterise Israel. Israel is introduced as a nation among other nations on earth. That is how the Israelites are portrayed in this passage; as nations stationed among other nations. The portrayal of the Israelites therefore, exhibits an inclusive ethnic theology. We proceeded to the Characterization of Joshua. In characterizing Joshua, it was established that Joshua did not conquer the land. He did not kill everything that breathes in Jericho. He did not curse any person who would rebuild Jericho after he, Joshua, had destroyed it. He did not advocate an anti-Canaanite theology. Joshua was born a resident of the Promised Land. Joshua's portrayal in Chronicles exhibits an inclusive ethnic theology. Lastly we examined the covenant that

underlies this narrative. In this section it was concluded that 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 is based on the Davidic covenant and evinces an inclusive ethnic theology.

It was argued that this conclusion is justifiable if one considers that 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 is squeezed between Adam as the proto-human and Cyrus who is mandated by YHWH as the saviour of the Judeans in exile; which is an expression of an inclusive ethnic theology. 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 therefore is a representative of the Chronistic History and exhibits an inclusive ethnic theology. The discussion also proceeded to demonstrate how the Davidic covenant is expressed in the Book of Chronicles. By referring to source texts which entail the Exodus, the study observed how they are modified so that they display David. It was concluded that Chronicler foresaw a future that was rooted in the ancestral promise rather than in the obedience associated with the exodus and desert wanderings and thus the Davidic covenant. By presupposing a historical locus in Israel which would have ramifications extending far beyond Israel, the Davidic covenant, which underlies the Chronistic History, was declared as advocating an inclusive ethnic theology. In general, the Chronistic History advocates an inclusive ethnic theology. The exclusive ethnic theology of the Israelites no longer met the needs of the post-exilic situation, hence the Chronicler found it necessary to contest, restructure and supplement it. The next chapter present a proper ethnic theology for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A PROPER ETHNIC THEOLOGY FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter succeeds two chapters that examined the portrayal of Joshua in two different corpora. The previous three chapters discussed the portrayal of Joshua in Joshua 6:1-27, the portrayal of Joshua in 1 Chronicles. The three chapters form the background to this chapter, which will evaluate the respective portrayals of Joshua against the backdrop of the socio-historical background of Northern Nigeria. The context of Northern Nigeria has demonstrated the difficulties that the nation undergoes. This chapter will try to evaluate the theologies that have been discussed to identify a theology that, if it can be embraced by all, can serve the people of Northern Nigeria best.

In discharging the task, the chapter will start by briefly discussing de-ideologisation in trying to tussle with the nature of the Bible. It will proceed to discuss Terje Stordalen's theory of Canonization to make sense of the authoritative Scriptures that govern people's lives. The next two sections will examine the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History as canons, respectively. Being aware of different understandings of the Bible in Africa which can influence how this study's outcomes are received, the discussion will shift to discuss specifically, the Bible as the Word of God. Lastly, the discussion will move towards choosing the proper ethnic theology for Northern Nigeria. The demonization of victims, the "use" of religion for political purposes and the Doctrine of Election will be discussed under this subheading. A conclusion will conclude the discussion.

7.2 De-Ideologising

One of the veterans of the South African Black Theology, Takatso Mofokeng, wrote a paper titled *Black Christians, the Bible and Liberation*. In this paper there is an interesting subtitle that says *Contemporary Paradox: The Bible as a Problem as well as a Solution*. Mofokeng discerns a paradox in the Bible. He argues that the paradoxical nature of the Bible is not only internal but external also. The first paradox derived from another "concrete paradox" that of the oppression of black people of South Africa by white people. The paradox lied in the religious affiliation of these two groups. The majority of both the black and the white people of Apartheid South Africa were "Christians who swear on the Bible and pledge allegiance to Jesus the Messiah and his teachings" (1988:37). When black people heard the Bible being quoted to oppress them or pacify Black resistance to oppression they realised "more and more that the Bible itself is indeed a serious problem to people who want to be free" (1988:37).

In dealing with this situation, black people accused oppressor preachers of misinterpreting the Bible. This accusation was based on the assumption that the Bible was primarily a book of liberation. However, the truth is that the real misinterpretation was the accusation itself. The Bible contained both oppressive and liberating texts. This is the second and the internal paradox of the Bible. The oppressive parts were the problem and the liberating parts a solution. The Bible was therefore a problem and a solution at the same time, evincing a paradoxical nature. In the face of this paradox, Mofokeng remarks as follows:

> We contend that there are stories and texts which are basically oppressive and whose interpretation (not misinterpretation) only serves the cause of oppression. On the contrary it is (in fact) their interpretation and use for liberation that would constitute misinterpretation and misuse. There are numerous texts which have long disqualified themselves in the eyes of oppressed people. We can refer to the well-known Pauline position on slavery and on the social position and behaviour of women. We think that in the light of this textual reality formally-trained hermeneutists and exegetes of the downtrodden should abandon the ideologically motivated concept of the unity of the Bible as well as the assumption that it is a book of liberation per se (1988:37).

Mofokeng argued that there are texts, stories and traditions in the Bible that are suitable only to be used in an oppressive manner. They can only be correctly interpreted by revealing their true oppressive nature because they are inherently oppressive. No amount of textual manipulation, no interpretive reorganisation or meaning agility can change their oppressive nature. In the same spirit, Itumeleng Mosala, another veteran of the South African Black Theology, identified the Conquest texts of the Old Testament as such texts as they are described by Mofokeng above. He described the Bible as a political document, arguing that there is no political system in the world that derives itself directly from the Bible like the Apartheid political system of South Africa. Elaborating on this observation he said: “The superiority of white people over black people, for example, is premised on the divine privileging of the Israelites over the Canaanites in the conquest texts of the Old Testament” (1988:131). To remedy the situation, Mosala argues that Black Theology, like its counterpart, Liberation Theology in Latin America, “grounded itself in the liberation stories of the Bible… to argue that liberation and not conquest or oppression was the key message of the Bible” (1988:131). Without having to present everything that Mofokeng and Mosala say about the Bible, the study reckons that their concerns are eloquently addressed in an observation by Tinyiko Maluleke when commenting on the reading of the Bible by African Christians. He says:

> However, my personal observation of African Christianity and the conduct of African Christians, even those from Pentecostal traditions is that while they may faithfully mouth the Bible-is-equal-to-the-Word-of-God formula, they are actually creatively pragmatic and selective in their use of the Bible so that the Bible may enhance rather than frustrate their life struggles (1996:13).

It is this option for enhancement rather than frustration that is expressed by Elelwani Farisani, informed by the above theologians, when he argued that all biblical texts are products of their socio-historical contexts. To avoid "further oppressing and silencing the already silenced and marginalized poor, the text's ideology has to be subjected to a rigorous sociological analysis, so as to de-ideologise it" (2002:297). The objective of chapters four and five was to illuminate the ideologies of the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History, respectively. This chapter is to take that task further by rigorously analysing these theologies. This phenomenon is called de-ideologisation. This chapter therefore, is to finalise the process of de-ideologisation that was started in chapter four. The ultimate goal of our de-ideologisation is to identify the ideologies of the texts concerned and compare them in order to make an informed decision in choosing a proper ethnic theology for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. Below this process will be carried out. Let us now progress and discuss canonization. This is to place the ideologies of these texts in a social context.

7.3 Canonization

In the foregoing section, Farisani was quoted as suggesting that texts be exposed to rigorous sociological analysis. This section intends to examine the process of Canonization as understood by Terje Stordalen. A Canon was explained in earlier in the study. It should suffice here to say a Canon is an authoritative corpus that guides the community how to go about its life. The discussion of Canonization here is to place the ideologies of both the Deuteronomistic History and Chronistic History into a social context. The aim is to give a perspective to the ideologies in our respective texts. The reason behind this exercise is the understanding that both the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History are canonical texts of the same canonical community although they differ in their ethnic theologies. The study is convinced that Stordalen's theory of Canonization can help us make sense of this situation. It can also empower us to choose a proper ethnic theology for the prevention of conflict in Northern Nigeria.

In the process of Canonization, Stordalen (2015) refers to what he calls the canonical ecology. The canonical ecology comprises of three major role players, namely, the Canon, the Canonical Community and the Canonical Commentary. According to Stordalen, the ever-changing nature

of the social circumstances of a people, pose a challenge of relevance to the Canon. For the Canon to be of good service to its community, it should be relevant to the issues the community is grappling with. This poses a challenge if one considers that a Canon is finalised at a particular time in history and the Canonical Community is composed of generations and generations that live in successive historical and social contexts, each with its unique historical and social challenges.

Later generations might be exposed to historical and social circumstances that the original generation that finalised the Canon never imagined. In such a situation the Canon's relevance is challenged. The Canon thus has to be flexible. As flexible as the Canon should be, in strong canonical traditions the Canon cannot be changed. The Canon and the Canonical Community are thus faced with a challenge. In such a situation, interpretation becomes a solution (2007:20). This is a time when a Canonical Commentary saves the day. The current Canonical Community produces commentaries to interpret the Canon within their historical and social circumstances. If the commentary satisfactorily talks to the current challenges of the Canonical Community, the community focuses on the commentary until the commentary is bestowed a canonical status and becomes a Canonical Commentary. The relationship of the Canonical commentary with the Canon becomes an interesting. Because the Canon cannot be discarded, both the Canon and the Canonical Commentary co-exist. The community keeps both as the canonical body. The Canon gives authority to the Canonical Commentary and the Canonical Commentary gives relevance to the Canon.

In this manner, the Canon retains its authority and the Canonical Commentary gains authority. An important point for our discussion Stordalen makes is that canons are ideological in nature (2013:24). If we take this point seriously, the question is what happens to the ideology of the Canon as the Canonical Commentaries abound in the course of history. The study contends that the ideology will nuance as the time progresses and even change ultimately. This should be enough to provide a perspective on Canons that will be useful in the progression of the discussion. Let us now move on and examine the Deuteronomistic History as a Canon.

7.4 Deuteronomistic History as a Canon

In this section, the study would like to illuminate two points about the Deuteronomistic History. The first one is that the Deuteronomistic History is a Canonical Commentary. The second one is that the Deuteronomistic History is ideological in nature. The first task will be carried out with the help of Jean-Louis Ska's discussion of the legal codes of the Old Testament in *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch* (2006). The second task will be carried out with the help of Thomas Römer's discussion of the Deuteronomistic History during the Assyrian, Neo-

Babylonian and the Persian period in *The So-called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (2007). Ska asserts that the Covenant Code (21-23) precedes the Deuteronomic Code (12-26) and it is succeeded by the Holiness Code (16-26) (2006:187). The implication of this statement is that these legal codes emerged at different historical times. The Deuteronomic Code, among these legal codes, represents the theology found in the Deuteronomistic History generally and for that reason the study reasons that it is justified to use the Deuteronomic Code for a discussion on the Deuteronomic History.

In his opinion, Ska states that the Covenant Code can be placed in a context where the communities were ruled by elders (2006:187). The elder here is referred to as a head of the extended family. Ancient extended families were situations where a man and his wife stay with their children. When children are adults, the male children will remain at the same home with their parents. The unmarried daughters will also stay with their parents. The grandchildren may also follow the same pattern, with male grandchildren staying with their wives and their children and unmarried granddaughters also remain. In addition to the children and the grandchildren and their families were slaves and their families and resident aliens. These extended families were referred to as "fathers' houses" and could keep up to hundred people in one household. They were governed by a patriarch and served as basic units of the army (Nunnally, 2000:457).

Ska states that the most important conflicts in the village or town were solved by the heads of these households. According David Werner Amram, "each family was a corporation, with the patriarch as its president, who sat with the other heads of the families, and formed with them a council of elders" (1900:35). Their functions were judicial and executive. They were the sole authority concerning all matters that affected the common welfare of the community. They were "a purely local authority". Their scope of activity was limited by the territorial confines of the community. Describing the issue of power, Amram says:

> Their jealousy of their ancient rights and their love of freedom prevented the rise of despots among them. Whenever the necessities of warfare required the concentration of authority in one hand, the community chose its chief and conferred power upon him, with the condition that he must resign his authority when the war was ended (1900:35).

The community which appointed the chief here is actually refers to the elders. The early Hebrew clans and tribes established shrines both before and after the conquest of Canaan (Carrigan, 2000:1216). The use of a high place (*bāmâ*) by Israelites was legitimate until the construction of the Jerusalem temple (Nakhai 2000:588). This is the social background of the Covenant

Code. This background is presented to illuminate the changes that might have taken place when Israel became a monarchy. When Israel became a monarchy, as Ska puts it, the extended family had to hand over power to the central administration in Jerusalem (2006:187). This is the period the product of which is the first edition of the Deuteronomistic History. During the monarchic period, power was centralised in Jerusalem; political, judicial, religious etc. This background portrays different historical circumstances for the pre-monarchic and the monarchic periods. In the view of Stordalen, the Canon must be relevant all the time. The call in Deuteronomy for one place of worship was, probably, a step to make worship relevant in a time when there was a temple. The condemnation of the high places was likely to promote the temple. One also finds some different stipulations in the Deuteronomy from the Covenant Code. For example, the Passover became a national festival from a local religious rite. Deuteronomy was a commentary to the Covenant Code (Cezula unpublished). Let us now look at the second point of this discussion, the ideological nature of the Deuteronomistic History.

While Römer argues a high likelihood that the Deuteronomistic History had three editions, this study argues that the likelihood is that it had two editions. Despite that, the study agrees with the ideological observations that Römer makes in this corpus. Commenting on the Deuteronomy, Römer asserts that "most of these laws actualize the older prescriptions of the Covenant Code and adapt them to the new social and economic situation under Josiah" (2007:78). This statement affirms the proposition made above that Deuteronomy is a commentary. In terms of Stordalen, it is a Canonical Commentary. His concluding remarks state that the seventh century law code can be understood as the reorganisation of the Judean state to provide more power to the centre (2007:2007). The ideology of centralisation seems to dominate this edition. He further views the notion of the exilic period as denoted in the Deuteronomistic History as an ideological construction. The exilic crisis led the Deuteronomistic History to "modify significantly their views of the origins of Israel and the Judean monarchy and to re-edit entirely the previous literary works of the predecessors from the Neo-Assyrian time" (2007:110). He argues that the Deuteronomist felt the exile had to be explained since it posed faith questions. To do this, they reworked the earlier literature to demonstrate that it is the disobedience of the Israelites that angered YHWH and thus handed them over to the Babylonians. The theme of the land that YHWH promised and gave to Israel became central. This is an ideological shift necessitated by historical circumstances.

He further identifies the ideology of separation from other nations. In line with his three-edition hypothesis, he associates this ideology with the returned exiles during the post-exilic period. This study agrees with the presence of this ideology of separation from other nations in

Deuteronomy and Joshua. However, the study keeps this ideology within the confines of the exilic period as far as the Deuteronomistic History is concerned. Concerning the post-exilic era and this ideology, this study looks at the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah. Actually, for this study, being in exile under foreigners was reason enough for the Deuteronomistic History to be hostile towards the foreigners. The study also agrees that this Deuteronomistic ideology of separation from other nations did influence the discourse on identity during the post-exilic period. It inspired Ezra-Nehemiah while Chronicles opposed it.

The books of Ruth, Jonah, Trito-Isaiah and Chronicles, to count a few, were countering the Deuteronomistic ideology of ethnic exclusivity that Ezra-Nehemiah, which seemed to occupy a dominant role in terms of power, was advocating. The study by Cezula on Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles discusses exactly this issue (2013). He also observes that same topic appears in Deuteronomy 7 also linking the idea of Israel's election to the necessity of separation from other nations. This issue has already been discussed in chapter four. The point being made here is that the Deuteronomistic History is also an ideological document that advocates the separation of the Judeans from foreign people.

7.5 Chronistic History as a Canon

In the same manner as above, this section will examine two issues, whether the Chronistic History is a commentary and whether it is ideological. The monarchical history of Chronistic History, without doubt is a re-writing of the monarchical history of the Deuteronomistic History. While the Deuteronomistic History tells the histories of both the northern kingdom and the southern kingdom, the Chronistic History focuses only on the southern kingdom. The northern kingdom is mentioned only in relation to the southern kingdom. Since Chronicles used Samuel-Kings as a source, the omission of the northern kingdom is nothing but a deliberate omission. Some of the stories of the Judean kings are reported in Chronicles so that they take a different outlook from the stories in Samuel-Kings. For example, the story of King Saul in the Deuteronomistic History is quite elaborate (1 Samuel 9-1 Samuel 31). The story of King Manasseh in 2 Kings (2 Kgs. 21:1-17; 23:26-27; 24:3-4) is told so that it is almost a different story from the one in 2 Chronicles (2 Chronicles 33:1-20). The way these changes are made are such that they are intended to reorient the previous stories. The Chronistic History is a Canonical Commentary to the Deuteronomistic History.

On Ideology, the Chronicler definitely advocates a different theology/ideology from its source. This reminds a question which was raised above whether what happens to an ideology of a canon when commentaries keep on coming up. The Chronistic History is definitely a

commentary on the Deuteronomistic History. The change of the introduction affects the ideology of the Deuteronomistic History. Dealing with this issue, Cezula argues as follows: Concerning the ideological nature of the Chronistic History, the material of the Chronistic History changes so that even the understanding of God becomes different. The introductions to the two histories were discussed previously and it became apparent that the understandings of God portrayed by these corpora are different. In Chronicles, God is not so hostile to the non-Israelites. Instead, even the foreigners praise YHWH. Expressing this view, Cezula says:

> As much as the Chronicler retells what the Deuteronomist has already told, he nevertheless leaves Chronistic traces in this passage. Huram's acknowledgement of YHWH as the creator of heaven and earth, which Japhet (1993) calls the "Chronistic elaboration" is identified by Dillard (1987) as comparable with that of the Queen of Sheba (9:7-9) and Cyrus (36:23) (1987:23). Williamson (1982) says of the Chronicler's re-ordering of this passage: "The result is that, while hardly at any point are we in doubt as to his source, in fact very little indeed could strictly speaking be called 'parallel'" (1982:197). In fact, adding Neco of Egypt (2 Chr 35:20-27) in the list of Huram, Queen of Sheba and Cyrus points to a certain trend within the Chronicler's narrative.171 The point here is that in this passage we can pick out the strands of the Chronistic theology on foreigners. The universalistic theological framework of the Chronicler betrays itself here (2013:182).

In his assertions, Römer (2007) states that the third edition of the Deuteronomistic History came out during the Persian era. The Chronistic History is a Persian era document as well. This is a period when the ethnic identity was quite a burning issue. Concerning the relationship of YHWH and Israel on the one hand and the foreign nations on the other in these two literary bodies, the ideological differences become conspicuous. Chronicles, as the canonization theory revealed, is commentary that makes the Canon relevant in circumstances where Israel lived among and under foreigners. Let us now move on to the next level.

7.6 Reading the Bible in Africa

The study is moving towards the final stage of its de-ideologisation of the selected texts. It has identified the respective theologies/ideologies of our respective texts. One step is still outstanding, that is, the final step of choosing a proper ethnic theology for the prevention of the ethnic/religious violence in Northern Nigeria. However, this is a moment to pause and reflect. Before the final step is taken, it is pragmatic to reflect on it. The reflection is about the equation the "Bible equals the Word of God". This is evoked by the realisation that people in Africa

understand and use the Bible in different ways. These understandings and uses have a bearing on the decision as to how to respond to an exposition of a biblical text.

An example of the Bible equals Word of God formula is the maintained by the Christ Apostolic Church. This is an example of many other Northern Nigerians who hold the same views about the Bible. The reference to the understanding of the Bible by the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) is not meant to make a judgement on this understanding. This reference is not about whether this is a right or wrong understanding. The point of this reference is that such an understanding is one of other different understandings and it is important to recognise it as an existing understanding. The choice of this understanding is not making a comparison with other understandings. It could have been any understanding. However, the study just randomly chose the CAC understanding as an example of understandings that one may find in Northern Nigeria.

It is important to repeat that the study is not making any judgement on this understanding of the Bible. What the study aims to do is to indicate that its method of de-ideologising, if listened carefully to, can be applied in any understanding. According to the study done by George O Folarin (2018:5), among members of CAC from northern and south-western Nigeria, the majority believe that the Word of God is infallible. This has implications for a study which searches for a proper ethnic theology for the prevention of ethnic/religious conflict in Northern Nigeria. The study asserts that its de-ideologisation does not doubt the authority of Scripture. The fact that the study grapple with the violence in Northern Nigeria, appeals to biblical theology attests to that. Let us then examine Folarin's study.

Folarin's data collection in the north was from Gombe, Zaria and Jos from the north. In the southwest it was from Lagos, Ibadan, Ile-Ife, Ilesa and Ekiti. The respondents were "clergymen, elders or deacons or deaconess, and other church members for fair representation" (2018:5). To avoid too much data that may sometimes confuse, the study will only focus on the respondents from the north and the majority view on a particular issue. The interviews concentrated on three questions. The first one was on the vernacular translations. The second one on the letters, words, punctuations and sentences in the Bible. The third one on the doctrinal, moral or scientific claims of the Bible. On the vernacular translations the findings were as follows:

> It was established through interview that the founding fathers and mothers of CAC were not aware of any difference between the original manuscripts of the Scriptures and the copies made later from them by copyists (Adeoye, 2017). When the founding fathers and mothers of CAC therefore spoke of the Bible as the word of God, they meant the vernacular versions of the Bible they had in their hands… CAC members perceived

> their progenitors' view of the Bible in all its parts in its various vernacular translations such as Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo as without error. Responses from the Northern region show that…87.5%... held to the view of inerrancy of the Bible (2018:5).

On the letters, words, punctuations and sentences in the Bible it was found that:

> The conclusion from the data is therefore that CAC progenitors viewed every word, sentence and punctuation mark in vernacular translations of the Bible as having no error. The CAC, by implication, has taken the verbal inspiration of the Bible farther than the Evangelicals by adhering to the inerrancy of the translations of the Bible more than the Conservative Evangelicals who canvass for the inerrancy of the autographs of the Bible (2018:5).

Finally, on the doctrinal, moral or scientific claims of the Bible the study found 63% "limited the inerrancy of the Bible held by the progenitors of CAC to doctrinal and moral matters" (2018:6). To demonstrate the importance of the inerrancy and the literal meaning of the Bible, Folarin even goes to an extent of demonstrating the belief in practice saying:

> The early converts to the church therefore placed a very high value on the Bible as consisting of the literal word of God and as such, they read and used the Bible magically. Even in contemporary times, Psalms and other texts of the Bible are being regularly recited in prayers, Psalms are commonly read over water and olive oil for healing, and it was reported that on one occasion, Psalm 35 was written on a small sheet of paper, smartly tied, and given to a church member to hang on his neck as magical amulet… The high view which CAC places on the Bible is not limited to Psalms. It extends to other parts of the Bible. The church justifies its position with Jesus' words in Matthew 5:18, 'Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or tittle shall in no wise pass … unfulfilled' (KJV) (2018:6-7).

Returning to the responses of the interviewees in Folarin's study, the inerrancy of the letters, words, punctuations and sentences in the Bible attracts the attention of the study most. This has implications for comparing the different theologies of the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History. The study asserted above that the fact it appeals to biblical theology for its quest for a proper ethnic theology for the ethnic/religious violence in Nigeria is a proof that the study views Scripture as authoritative. However, a question may arise, how so that the study compares the theologies of the different corpora if it views Scripture as authoritative. The response is that this exercise is not stimulated by the study's own accord. On the contrary, this

exercise is stimulated by the nature of the Old Testament itself. If one stops focussing on selected parts of the Old Testament and consider the Old Testament as a whole, one will at some point get stuck because one cannot make out what to accept as the message of the Old Testament. For example, the story of King Manasseh is told in 2 Kgs. 21:1-17; 23:26-27; 24:3-4 and in 2 Chronicles 33. It may be enlightening to read both versions of the story of King Manasseh. In 2 Kings, the narrative is as follows:

> **2 Kings 21:16** Moreover, Manasseh shed very much innocent blood, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another, besides the sin that he made Judah to sin so that they did what was evil in the sight of the Lord. …**2 King 23:26** Still the Lord did not turn from the burning of his great wrath, by which his anger was kindled against Judah, because of all the provocations with which Manasseh had provoked him. **27** And the Lord said, "I will remove Judah also out of my sight, as I have removed Israel, and I will cast off this city that I have chosen, Jerusalem, and the house of which I said, My name shall be there." …**2 Kings 24:1** In his days, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant for three years. Then he turned and rebelled against him. **2** And the Lord sent against him bands of the Chaldeans and bands of the Syrians and bands of the Moabites and bands of the Ammonites, and sent them against Judah to destroy it, according to the word of the Lord that he spoke by his servants the prophets. **3** Surely this came upon Judah at the command of the Lord, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he had done, **4** and also for the innocent blood that he had shed. For he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, and the Lord would not pardon.

In the Book of Chronicles, the last part of the story is told as follows:

> **10** The Lord spoke to Manasseh and to his people, but they paid no attention. **11** Therefore the Lord brought upon them the commanders of the army of the king of Assyria, who captured Manasseh with hooks and bound him with chains of bronze and brought him to Babylon. **12** And when he was in distress, he entreated the favor of the Lord his God and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers. **13** He prayed to him, and God was moved by his entreaty and heard his plea and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the Lord was God. **14** Afterward he built an outer wall for the city of David west of Gihon, in the valley, and for the entrance into the Fish Gate, and carried it around Ophel, and raised it to a very great height. He also put commanders of the army in all the fortified cities in Judah. **15** And he took away the

> foreign gods and the idol from the house of the Lord, and all the altars that he had built on the mountain of the house of the Lord and in Jerusalem, and he threw them outside of the city. **16** He also restored the altar of the Lord and offered on it sacrifices of peace offerings and of thanksgiving, and he commanded Judah to serve the Lord, the God of Israel. **17** Nevertheless, the people still sacrificed at the high places, but only to the Lord their God. **18** Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer to his God, and the words of the seers who spoke to him in the name of the Lord, the God of Israel, behold, they are in the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel. **19** And his prayer, and how God was moved by his entreaty, and all his sin and his faithlessness, and the sites on which he built high places and set up the Asherim and the images, before he humbled himself, behold, they are written in the Chronicles of the Seers. **20** So Manasseh slept with his fathers, and they buried him in his house, and Amon his son reigned in his place.

If the reader is asked to describe King Manasseh, how does the reader do that? Does the reader describe King Manasseh as a king that was so evil that he was unrepentant to the end? Or, does the reader describe King Manasseh as an evil king who later repented and God was moved by his repentance. One thing is for sure. If the reader chooses to describe Manasseh as unrepentant to the end, the reader chooses the Kings' narrative over the Chronicles' narrative. However, if the reader chooses to describe Manasseh as an evil king who later repented, the reader chooses the Chronicles' narrative over the Kings' narrative. It is a situation the reader cannot get out of because it is the Bible itself that presents two versions of the Manasseh story. Both texts are authoritative but the reader cannot choose both. Only if the Bible included one version, then would the reader be able to describe Manasseh without feeling some text has been disregarded. It is the nature of the Bible. For circumstances like the one that has just been described above, one may take note of Tinyiko Maluleke's observation about application of the formula/equation of Bible equals Word of God:

> However, my personal observation of African Christianity and the conduct of African Christians, even those from Pentecostal traditions is that while they may faithfully mouth the Bible-is-equal-to-the-Word-of-God formula, they are actually creatively pragmatic and selective in their use of the Bible so that the Bible may enhance rather than frustrate their life struggles. Yet the same people who contradict the formula would verbally lynch anyone who suggested to them that not everything in the Bible was salvific and therefore there are Biblical texts with which, given our circumstances and history, we cannot collude. What I am saying is that Christians are creatively but

> surreptitiously undermining the formula anyway. What function does the formula serve then if even those who uphold it do not follow it to the letter? (1996:13).

Listening to Maluleke's observation, the researcher cannot help but be reminded of Deuteronomy 21:18-21:

> If someone has a stubborn and rebellious son who will not obey his father and mother, who does not heed them when they discipline him, [19] then his father and his mother shall take hold of him and bring him out to the elders of his town at the gate of that place. [20] They shall say to the elders of his town, "This son of ours is stubborn and rebellious. He will not obey us. He is a glutton and a drunkard." [21] Then all the men of the town shall stone him to death. So you shall purge the evil from your midst; and all Israel will hear, and be afraid.

This is one of the instructions that even the most devote of believers defy. This is one of the instances in which even staunch adherents of the formula Bible equals Word of God are "creatively pragmatic and selective in their use of the Bible so that the Bible may enhance rather than frustrate their life struggles". De-ideologisation acknowledges the authority of Scripture but obeys Scripture within one's circumstances. Our circumstances are our own reality. This discussion is raised because a proper ethnic theology for prevention of violence can only be effective if it is embraced by all concerned. Let us now proceed to evaluate the two theologies.

7.7 A Proper Ethnic Theology for Conflict Prevention in Northern Nigeria

This section is the climax of the whole study. In this section the study is to evaluate the ethnic theologies that have been identified in chapters four and five. These ideologies will be evaluated against the Northern Nigerian context that was provided in chapter six. In other words, an integration of the three chapters is going to take place leading to the ultimate goal of the study, an identification of a proper ethnic theology for the prevention of ethnic/religious violence in Northern Nigeria. It is common sense knowledge that violence is disruptive. Nevertheless, it might be empowering to revisit the consequences of violence in Northern Nigeria before we do our evaluation of the respective theologies. Such an exercise may kindle some sense of empathy, which is very necessary when dealing with violence. The reports on the atrocities of violence are not just statistics but a reality that makes life miserable for the victims. This study therefore, encourages an empathetic attitude as we reason about the theologies advocated by the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History.

As a result of the recurrent violence in Northern Nigeria, many lives have been lost. In three Local Government Areas (LGAs) of Southern Kaduna[119] (Jema'a, Kaura & Sanga), from May 2016 to September 2017, it was estimated that 725[120] people were killed, 130[121] injured, 3 678[122] lost property and 3 313[123] displaced (Adamu *et al*, 2018:12-15).

Vulnerable women and children have suffered. Ali *et al* highlight that patriarchy in Northern Nigeria led to women totally depending on their husbands for survival. Gender-based violence also has monumental effects within the region of our discussion. Lack of education for many girls also destines them for the same lifestyle of their mothers. During violent attacks many men die and the wives and children remain behind as widows and orphans (2018:27-28). Any person who knows very well about a patriarchal community will imagine what kind of life these widows and these orphans will live. It's a situation no one will wish for him or herself. Portraying the whole scenario, Ali *et al* say:

> … even before the emergency of Boko Haram in Nigeria, Nigeria was characterized with the highest rates of internal ethnoreligious and communal conflict in the world. … Numerous houses, schools, educational facilities, villages, towns, and markets have been comparatively or completely damaged, destroyed and uninhabited, this has aggravated the levels of poverty and unemployment among the youth in the society. Several business organizations were distorted, many prominent and affluent persons were turned into beggars and refugees, most of the central and international businesses in the affected area has crippled (*sic*). More so, many women were disconnected from their husbands and children, this has directly or indirectly affected the lives of the women and children. In short, it is noted that in Borno State alone, more than 5, 335 classrooms in 512 primaries, 38 secondary schools as well as 2 tertiary institutions were damaged; about 1, 205 public buildings were destroyed. This has affected the educational process of the youth and children leaders of tomorrow (2018:28).

It is easy to downplay such accounts when viewed as happening far-away and to other people. However, if one places oneself in the position of the victims of these atrocities, one is guaranteed of a sober judgement about violence. It is an empathetic attitude that this study pleads for as we evaluate these theologies.

[119] Unfortunately, it was not possible to obtain data from Kauru and Zango Kataf.
[120] 709 Christians and 16 Muslims.
[121] 130 Christians and no data for Muslims.
[122] 3,459 Christians and 219 Muslims.
[123] 3,133 Christians and 181 Muslims.

The first and the major question to ask is why human beings would kill other human beings without even thinking about it, especially if they are religious people. This question is even more pertinent if we consider that murder is universally rejected, irrespective of religious affiliation. Marsden Lee refers to different religions as embracing what he refers to as "the 'Golden Rule,' common to the main faith traditions, of doing unto others as you would be done by (2018:61). He identifies few different religions in this regard:

> Confucius urged his followers to: "Never do to others what you would not like them to do to you" (Analects 15: 23). Within the Christian tradition, Jesus commanded his disciples to "Do to others as you would have them do to you" (Matthew 7:12). Muhammad similarly insisted that we should: "Wish for others what you wish for yourself" (Hadith 13, Nawawi). In the Jewish tradition Rabbi Hillel was asked by a gentile to explain the Torah while he stood on one foot, his reply invoked the Golden Rule: "What is hateful to you, do not do to your fellow: this is the whole Torah; the rest is the explanation; go and learn" (Talmud, Shabbat 31a). The Buddha advised people to: "Treat not others in ways, you yourself would find hurtful" (Udana-Varga 5:18). Hindus are also advised: "Do not do to others what would cause pain if done to you" (Mahabharata 5: 1517) (Lee, 2018:67).

In the Jewish tradition, the study adds Leviticus 19: 18c: "…but you shall love your neighbor as yourself". There are many answers to our question. However, for the sake of an intelligible discussion, we will choose three answers. They are the demonization of the victims, "use" of religion for political purposes and the Doctrine of Divine Election.

7.7.1 Demonization of the Victims

In the previous chapter we mentioned Ojo and Faseke referring to 'the spirit of anti-Christ' as a reference by Christians to Muslims and "infidels" as reference to Christians by Muslims, respectively. What these designations do is to dehumanise the envisaged enemy. They take away the human quality of the enemy so that the enemy is viewed as anything but not fully human. This goes with an English proverb that says, "Give a dog a bad name and hang him". It is easy to slaughter an animal but not a human being. However, once the human being is viewed as not fully human, that person can be treated as an animal. While these designations are not necessarily literally true, their metaphorical power has a substantial impact on the reasoning of the hearers. Once internalised, such designations turn the perpetrators into merciless murder machines.

In a study trying to determine whether there are genocidal inclinations to the episodic killings that lasted from 1966 to "today"[124] in Northern Nigeria, Grace O Okoye concludes that yes, there are genocidal inclinations to the Northern Nigerian conflict. According to her, genocidal inclinations to the Northern Nigeria conflict are latent or covert due to the episodic and intermittency of killings that have been going on for decades in the conflict (2013:4-5). She then argues that human beings have a strong capacity to generate psychological projections which can serve as bases for imputing genocidal designs to believed enemies and justifications for such designs (2013:78). Describing the situation of the victims of genocide, she says:

> Before being killed, they are debased, brutalized, and dehumanized by which vein they are made to resemble "animals" or "subhumans" to justify their extermination. Additionally, projection also serves to displace blame and guilt from the perpetrators of genocide to their victims (2013:78).

Having explained demonization, let us now examine our respective texts to view whether there are discernible signs of demonization in their respective portrayals of Joshua.

In Joshua 6:1-27, the character Joshua does not differentiate between what should happen to people of Jericho on the one hand, and oxen, sheep and donkeys on the other hand: "Then they devoted to destruction by the edge of the sword all in the city, both men and women, young and old, oxen, sheep, and donkeys" (Josh. 6:21). To seal his job, Joshua cursed anyone who would think of rebuilding Jericho (Josh. 6:26). The question is, why was Joshua so stone-hearted? Did not the painful cries of the men, women and children he was exterminating move his heart? The study's answer is that Joshua was so merciless in the Book of Joshua because he was under the spell of a psychological projection that imputed genocidal designs to the residents of Canaan. In Deuteronomy 7 the nations in Canaan are described as idolaters. For being idolaters they deserved to be exterminated. In Joshua's mind, surely this word were ringing: "then you must utterly destroy them.[125] Make no covenant with them and show them no mercy. [3] … [4] for that would turn away your children from following me, to serve other gods. Then the anger of the Lord would be kindled against you, and he would destroy you quickly" (Josh. 7:2b & 4).

As Joshua was destroying Jericho, he was not killing people but idolaters who, if not exterminated, would lead to the destruction of Israel. Unfortunately, this psychological projection is also held by the Muslims in Northern Nigeria as Faseke indicates: "They also

[124] Today can be understood as 2012 or 2013, since the study was finished in 2013.
[125] In Joshua's mindset, it was okay to kill the Canaanites because the land has been promised to the Israelites and as such it belongs to them. Killing the Canaanites was an obedience to God. Thus, the Canaanites were a *herem* ban for annihilation.

believe … *not killing people but eradicating 'evil'* …" (2013:51). The death of the Canaanites meant the survival of the Israelites. "We are carrying out these attacks in order to … liberate ourselves and our religion from the hands of infidels…" a Boko Haram activist declared (Faseke 2013:51). Before the Jericho massacre of Joshua 6, Deuteronomy 7 debased the Canaanites, brutalized the Israelites, dehumanized the Canaanites to resemble animals or subhuman to justify their annihilation. This projection of the Canaanites also shifted the blame and guilt from Joshua to the Canaanites themselves. The Deuteronomistic History demonized the Canaanites. Another instance of demonization is the inclusion of the Rephaim in the Deuteronomistic History. According to Ronald S Hendel, Rephaim is a more general term for the Nephilim and the Anaqim; the offspring of the heavenly beings who had sexual relations with daughters of men in Genesis 6:1-4. Claude F Mariottini postulates that "Anakim may be a generic term used in the OT to describe the imposing height of all the original inhabitants of Canaan, rather than a proper name for a particular nation or tribe" (2000:59). There are two points made by Hendel that are important for our discussion. The first one is that, according to the Genesis tradition, the Nephilim were supposed to have been destroyed during the flood. However, according to the Deuteronomistic History, they were found in Canaan. The second point is that, according to Hendel:

> The function of the Nephilim- Rephaim in all of these traditions is constant-they exist in order to be wiped out: by the flood, by Moses, by David, and others. The function of the Nephilim in Israelite tradition, I submit, is to die (1987:21).

In this perception, this is just another way of dehumanising the people of Canaan. Let us now examine 1 Chronicles 7: 20-29.

As already indicated before, Joshua appears as the tenth generation grandchild of Ephraim who stayed peacefully with the people of Gath in the Promised Land. Joshua's portrayal concerning foreigners can thus be deduced from the life depicted during the time of Ephraim. The description of the people of Gath in 1 Chronicles 7: 20-29 hints on the relationship between the Israelites and the people of Gath. The people of Gath are described as אַנְשֵׁי־גַת הַנּוֹלָדִים בָּאָרֶץ. הַנּוֹלָדִים comprises of an article and Nifal participle masculine plural of the root ילד. ילד means to give birth. Additional to making a word definite, an article also matches a noun, adjective or participle with the noun it describes. In our case here, the article הַ matches נּוֹלָדִים with אַנְשֵׁי־גַת.

In some instances, the Nifal depicts a passive voice as in this phrase. In the active voice the action affects the object while in the passive it affects the subject. In our case here the one who

is born is the subject, the people of Gath. בָּאָרֶץ is an indirect object of הַנּוֹלָדִים. The phrase thus literally translates as "the men of Gath who were born in the land". In 1 Chronicles 7: 21 the people of Gath are described as the natives of the land. This is a positive description especially that it comes from the author. Further, when the sons of an Israelite raided the cattle of the people of Gath, God allowed them to be killed by the people of Gath, reminding the researcher of Roman 6:23: "For the wages of sin is death…" What we witness here is respect for the dignity of all; Israelite or non-Israelite. Discussing the role of religion in violence, Juergensmeyer says:

> Although our attention recently has been riveted on examples that display religion's dark side of justifying violence and demonizing opponents, religion can also bring more positive elements to a situation of conflict. It can offer images of a peaceful resolution, justifications for tolerating differences, and a respect for the dignity of all life (2004:8).

Without having to say much words, what Juergensmeyer describes above is exactly what is evident in 1 Chronicles 7:21. Moreover, this text is matrixed on a theology which views all humanity as descended from Adam, placing Israel among other descendants of Adam in the world. The Chronistic History does not demonise other nations.

7.7.2 "Use" of Religion for Political Purposes

One of the political struggles that pervade all societies is competition for land. Some groups justify their violent actions for the struggle for land by elevating this historical struggle for land to a cosmic plane. In Deuteronomy 7:12-26 God promises to fight for the Israelites. In Joshua 6:2-5 God talks to Joshua giving instructions for war. The war is waged by YHWH and not by Israelites. We have here a cosmic war. The conquest of the land of Canaan is elevated to a cosmic plane. The Hebrew Bible is counted as one of the religious traditions that provide images of sacred warfare that are found in every religious tradition (Juergensmeyer, 2004: 6). The danger of a cosmic war is depicted by Juergensmeyer as follows:

> The image of cosmic war is a potent force. When the template of spiritual battle is implanted onto a worldly opposition it dramatically changes the perception of the conflict by those engaged in it, and it vastly alters the way that the struggle is waged. It *absolutizes the conflict* into extreme opposing positions and *demonizes opponents* by imagining them to be satanic powers. This absolutism makes compromise difficult to fathom, and holds out the promise of *total victory* through divine intervention. A sacred war that is waged in a godly span of time need not be won immediately, however. The *time line of sacred struggle is vast*, perhaps even eternal (2004:7).

The absolutiation of the conflict into extreme opposing poles is evident in the Deuteronomistic History in the way the Israelites and the Canaanites are set apart. Deuteronomy 7, again, is the perfect demonstration of this scenario. Demonisation has already been identified above. An important element stated by Juergensmeyer in this quotation is the elongation of the violent conflict; which spells disaster for affected communities. What Juergensmeyer means is that a cosmic war can last for a very long time, even eternally. The reason is that the warring believers are convinced that ultimately, their deity will intervene. Deities operate on their own time frames and believers view the delay of a deity as a test of their faith. For that reason, they keep on, even if things are not on their side. This is just to indicate the danger of a cosmic war. The point has been made that the Deuteronomistic History also uses the cosmic war strategy in its historical wars with the Canaanites.

This topic on the use of religion is closely related to the topic of demonization, as the reader would have noticed, demonization cropped up in the foregoing discussion. In 1 Chronicles 7:20-29, although God is involved in war situations, it is somehow different from the Deuteronomistic approach. In the battle between Ephraim's sons and the people of Gath, there is no demonization of non-Israelites. The battle appears as to be a mere criminal incident. This discernible attitude is based on the broad strategic approach of avoiding the Exodus narrative that demonises the Canaanites. Joshua, therefore, in Chronicles is not under the control of a certain psychological projection aimed at the dehumanization and extermination of the "other." Examining wars in the Book of Chronicles, Troy D Cudworth (2014) contends that the Chronicler's focus in the wars narrated in the book was on the promotion of the temple cult. Faithfulness to YHWH and the temple cult determined failure or success in a war. The Chronicler's concern was Israel's faithfulness to YHWH and had little concern with the polarisation of foreigners.

7.7.3 The Doctrine of Divine Election

Silberman *et al* identified the Doctrine of Election as one of "three basic invitations to bigotry".[126] According to them, this doctrine may imply the inferiority of others as rejected by God (2005:774). As it was indicated in chapter four, Deut. 7:6–11 is viewed as a "classical formulation of the doctrine of election" (Thompson, 2000:389). According to Deuteronomy 7:6, Israel was chosen out of all the people of the earth to be YHWH's treasured possession. Consciousness of being elected out of all the people of the earth carries a great potential of superiority complex. The implication of others being inferior and thus rejected by God can lead

[126] The other two being the belief that one's religion teaches absolute and exclusive truth and theocracy.

to demonization and "use" of religion for political struggles. In the case of Joshua 6, it is evident that Israel is elected in contradistinction to the Canaanites.

In chapter four, through Römer, we indicated already that "Deut. 7 links the idea of Israel's 'election' to the necessity of separation from the 'other nations'" (Römer, 2007:170). It was further indicated that, the Book of Joshua is a clear bearer of the segregationist theology (Römer, 2007:172). Connecting Deuteronomy 7 with the conquests in Joshua, we stated that "the end of Deuteronomy 7 (especially vv. 21-26) alludes to the conquest stories in the book of Joshua, which are now primarily understood as stories of segregation" (Römer, 2007:170). Joshua 6:1-27 is a story of segregation. The election of Israel in the Deuteronomistic therefore, is, as Silberman *et al* have observed, an invitation to bigotry. The Doctrine of Election in the Deuteronomistic History is a catalyst for religious violence.

Concerning Chronicles, Sparks contends that it is clear that the proper cultic duties, performed by the proper cultic officials, is the central theme of the genealogies (2008:31). Cudworth, in a similar spirit, argues that Israel's faithfulness in maintaining the temple is their central obligation in their relationship with YHWH in Chronicles (2014:5). In a somewhat similar vein, Knoppers argues that in Chronicles "the objects of divine election are the sons of Jacob, the Levites, Judah, the house of Jesse, David, Solomon, Jerusalem, and the temple (Knoppers 2015:141). He continues to say; "for the writers election entails a code of conduct on the part of the elect, which is centered (*sic*) at the Jerusalem temple" (2015:151). All the above scholars place the cult at the centre of the Chronicler's themes. Because Knoppers also latches on election, his contention carries some importance for the current discussion. Relating on the election of Israel specifically, Knoppers avers:

> The only possible allusion to Israel's election found in Chronicles stems, as we shall see, neither from Deuteronomy nor from Kings, but from the Psalms. This is not to say that this one allusion is unimportant. It may be, but the larger point is that Chronicles draws from a variety of sources and often goes its own way. Given that the quote stems from a literary source outside of the Deuteronomistic work, one should be careful not to import a Deuteronomistic meaning into its occurrence within Chronicles (Knoppers, 2015:145).

The point being brought forward here is that although election features in Chronicles, it does not necessarily carry the Deuteronomistic meaning. In Chronicles, election is focused inwards. It ensures the maintenance of proper cultic practices within Israel. It does not involve segregation from foreigners. As things seem, segregation from foreigners is of very little

concern for the Chronicler. In order to ensure total obedience, election does not need demonization of the "other". It does not need a cosmic war to cleanse all the foreigners who might be a snare to the Judeans.

7.8 Proper Ethnic Theology for Northern Nigeria

Discussions on Northern Nigeria have depicted the violent situation so that it is unacceptable for any group of people. No people deserve what is taking place in Northern Nigeria. Northern Nigeria needs peace so that they can reconstruct their life for the better. Nigerian people in general are religious people. As such, religion has a vital role to play in shaping life in that region. Unfortunately, religion has a hand already in what is happening currently. The question is "…whether religion is the cause of violence or its unwilling servant" (Juergensmeyer, 2004:1). In pondering this question, Juergensmeyer's wisdom might be resourceful. He says:

> In a curious way, then, the solution to religious violence is not more violence but more religion. That is, the solution to our current moment of religious violence may involve an understanding of religion that is not parochial and defensive, but expansive and tolerant in the manner advocated by virtually all religious scriptures and authorities. Beyond particular religions, moreover, there is a broad sense of the moral and spiritual unity of the family of humanity that can be dimly heard in the background even in the discordant moments of the 21st century's clashes of religion. It is good to be assured that there are religious resources for peace to be tapped, even as we know that religion provides the ammunition for some of our generation's most lethal acts (2004:8-9).

Indeed, it is good to be assured that there are religious resources for peace to be tapped. The Chronistic History is such a religious resource. The portrayal of Joshua in Chronicles as it has been discussed in this study provides a model for a proper ethnic theology for the violent context of Northern Nigeria. The portrayal of Joshua in the Deuteronomistic History represents what Juergensmeyer describes as "…images of sacred warfare that are found in every religious tradition – such as the battles in the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament), the epics of Hinduism and Buddhism, and the Islamic idea of *jihad*"[127] (2004: 6). Such images are employed by the activists of violence and therefore, the portrayal of Joshua in the Deuteronomistic History does not provide a model for a proper ethnic theology for Northern Nigeria.

[127] Faseke comments on jihad: "The concept of *jihad*, used by terrorists as an excuse for violence, has different nuances and is considered to be broader than military actions" (2013:53).

7.9 Summary and conclusion

This chapter is the climax of our study. It finally came to the conclusion that the Deuteronomistic History, as represented by the character of Joshua in Joshua 6 does not provide a model for a proper ethnic theology for Northern Nigeria. The Characterization of Joshua in 1 Chronicles 7:20-29 promotes peace and that is what is needed in Northern Nigeria. At this point it might be enlightening to take note of what Brueggemann noticed long ago. Brueggemann argues that there are two circles of tradition in the literature of Israel concerning the covenant. One is derived from Moses and the other Davidic in its formulation. He notes that the biblical tradition suggests the Davidic naturally arises from the Mosaic and it is faithful to it. Despite that, he concludes that it is not far-fetched to suggest that the two covenants are not just distinct, "but also came from very different centers (*sic*) of power and very different processes of tradition building" (1979:161). This study acknowledges that one does find different traditions in the Bible that even advocate different theological understandings. It is in this light that the study employs de-ideologisation as a method to read the biblical texts.

This chapter started by briefly discussing de-ideologisation above. It then presented Stordalen's theory of Canonization. Canonization helps to make more sense of de-ideologisation. As historical time progresses, historical circumstances change and the Canon might need to be made relevant in the changed circumstances and theological changes may also take place. The next two sections examined the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History as canons, respectively. Concerned that some understandings of the formula Bible-equals-Word-of-God might find it difficult to understand de-ideologisation, the formula was placed into perspective.

Having done all that, the discussion moved on to evaluate the theologies that have been discerned in the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History. In doing that, three themes were examined. The first one was *demonization*. The second one was the *"use" of religion for political purposes*. The third one was the *Doctrine of Divine Election*. This discussion confirmed that the Chronistic History provides a model for a proper ethnic theology for Northern Nigeria while the Deuteronomistic History does not. An inclusive ethnic theology is proper for Northern Nigeria and the Chronistic History is a resource for such a theology. The exclusive ethnic theology of the Deuteronomistic History is not proper for Northern Nigeria. It might be fruitful to close with a comment from Faseke that says: "And a number of scholars that hold the view that religious violence is used as instrument, acknowledge that the problem is not religion but the understanding of religion … A religious text could be used either to promote respect for differences or to endorse claims of exclusivity and spiritual superiority"

(2013:51). The study now proceeds to conclude the whole research in the following final chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter finally identified an ethnic theology that is proper for the Northern Nigerian context. Northern Nigeria is plagued by ethnic/religious violence. The inclusive ethnic theology discernible in the Chronistic History was identified as a proper model for an inclusive ethnic theology that can serve a process of violence prevention in Northern Nigeria fruitfully. The Deuteronomistic History advocates an exclusive ethnic theology. Such a theology is not proper for Northern Nigeria which is inhabited by diverse ethnic and religious groups. This final chapter therefore, is going to provide a summary of this study, conclusions reached in the course of the discussions and recommendations based on the respective conclusions.

The study presented the socio-cultural and historical context of Northern Nigeria first. Then it continued by discussing its methodology. Afterwards, it then discussed introductory issues to the books of Joshua and Chronicles. An analysis of Joshua 6:1-27 followed which was in turn followed by an analysis of 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. That discussion was then followed by a discussion considered to be the climax of the study, an identification of a proper ethnic theology for Northern Nigeria. Now, this chapter is going to present a summary of all that has been discussed and all conclusions reached, finalising by providing some recommendations. The summary will be under two separate headings, namely, analytical tools and ethnic theology for Northern Nigeria. The next section will revisit the hypothesis and the suppositions that were made at the beginning of the study to see whether they have been proved right or wrong. Recommendations will bring the study to the end.

8.2 Analytical Tools

Since people of Northern Nigeria are highly religious people, it is essential to be sensitive to any possible theological traits in any social phenomenon that poses some kind of a threat to society. Ethnic/religious violence is such a social phenomenon that poses a huge threat to the well-being of this society. By virtue of being called ethnic/religious, this violence contains religious elements and by extension, theological influences of some sort. Whatever theological resources are behind the conflicts in Northern Nigeria, one thing sure about them is that they do not inhibit violence, if the violent tendencies evident in these conflicts are anything to go by. It is against this background that the study undertook to search for an inclusive ethnic theology that will be proper for preventing violence in Northern Nigeria. Scriptures are theological resources for believing communities so the study undertook to harness Scriptures

for an ethnic theology that will help in the prevention of violence in Northern Nigeria. It is specifically an ethnic theology because the violence is ethnic and religious in nature.

Since the researcher is a Christian and quite a sizeable proportion of the Northern Nigerian population is Christian, the researcher chose to explore the Christian Protestant Bible. Because the researcher is an Old Testament student, the Old Testament became the focus of this venture. Narratives seem to be the easiest material to read so it is quite convenient to focus on them. The Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History demonstrate a crucial fact that many Christians refuse to acknowledge; that the Bible contains different and sometimes contradicting theologies. For this reason, these corpora provided helpful resources for our study. Moreover, the Deuteronomistic History is quite popular, although people might not be aware that they are dealing with a particular theology of the Old Testament. For many, it is just the Bible.

Furthermore, the theologies in these narrative corpora are also evident in other biblical genres; e.g., the Prophets and the Psalms. De-ideologisation therefore, seems to be the most befitting method to undertake a study of this nature. De-ideologisation entails illuminating the theology/ideology that underlies a particular text. Because identification of ideology in a biblical text is an uncomfortable exercise for some Bible readers, Canonization was also introduced to provide logic for the ideological nature of the texts, and maybe legitimacy. Lastly, because the study uses Old Testament to unlock theological dynamics in an African context, the researcher classifies the study as African Biblical Hermeneutics (ABH). Let us now briefly summarise the discussions on de-ideologisation, Canonization and ABH.

Mainly, the discussion on de-ideologisation emphasised the need to bring to the surface the ideologies that lie under our Old Testament texts. This is motivated by the consciousness that some Old Testament ethnic theologies cause strife when applied in different contexts while other Old Testament ethnic theologies inhibit strife. Itumeleng Mosala attested to such a situation (1988:130-132). The main conclusion this discussion came to is that definitely, there are different theologies in the Old Testament and the context of the reader should be determinative of which biblical theology is proper for that particular reader's context. While it is quite uncomfortable for some readers to acknowledge these theological/ideological differences, it is also true that they exist. For this reason, the study included the process of Canonization to provide context for these differences, and thus logic and legitimacy. The main concern about a Canon is that it must be relevant to its users. In a context where historical circumstances have radically changed from the circumstances out of which the Canon arose, a commentary makes it relevant by reconciling it with current challenges. This may include theological/ideological adaptations and some of those commentaries become canonical as well.

Again, the main conclusion that the discussion came to is that Canons are theological/ideological in nature. An accompanying conclusion is that some texts in the Old Testament are Canonical Commentaries to the Canon their communities adhered to. Finally, de-ideologisation as a literary method and Canonization as a historical critical method here are utilised in the service of a burning need for an African context. Farisani, following Draper, was quoted in chapter two describing ABH as a "tripolar" approach: "the pole of the biblical text, the pole of the African context, and the pole of appropriation" (2017:8). He further described ABH as follows:

> African biblical interpretation is overt about the context from which and for which the biblical text is interpreted… It is important to note here that "interpreting the biblical text is never, in African biblical hermeneutics, an end in itself. Biblical interpretation is always about changing the African context" (2017:8-9).

This study, utilises the services of de-ideologisation and Canonization to facilitate change in an African context. In a nutshell, this chapter provides three presuppositions with which to approach the Old Testament for our research study. The first one is that there are different theologies/ideologies in Old Testament. The second one is that these different theologies/ideologies were logical outcomes of intense engagement with current changed circumstances in relation to the prescriptions of the Canon. The third one is that the African context should be the ultimate beneficiary of this engagement with these texts. With these presuppositions in mind, let us proceed to summarise the following three chapters.

8.3 Theologies of Deuteronomistic History and Chronistic History

In chapter three it was indicated already that the introductory issues have been so discussed that an expression of an intention to discuss them does not necessarily arouse curiosity. Nevertheless, the introductory issues determine perspectives on important themes of a book. Chapter three dealt with three introductory issues concerning the books of Joshua and Chronicles, namely; date, author and purpose. Having examined different propositions by different scholars, the study settled for two dates for Joshua; the seventh century and the sixth century. Specifically; the reign of Joshua for the seventh century and the exilic period for the sixth century. The argument is that the Deuteronomistic History, part of which is the Book of Joshua, comprises two editions, namely, a pre-exilic edition and an exilic edition. In line with the Canonization theory, the ideologies evident in the seventh century edition and the sixth century edition can be linked directly to the socio-historical changes that took place during the respective periods. For example, the weakening of the Assyrian Empire which was the

dominating superpower at that time bolstered Josiah's confidence to reinforce the sovereignty of the Judean state. The centralisation ideology that Josiah's regime embarked on was giving more power to the centre in Jerusalem.

Interestingly, Römer persuasively argues that the similarity of the Deuteronomistic Laws with the Assyrian treaties could also be a polemic to Assyria. It could be an indication that the suzerain for Judah was YHWH and not Assyria. Further, the Deuteronomistic Laws also contextualised the Covenant Code, which is also in line with the Canonization theory. The conquests in Joshua also reflect the genre and ideology of Neo-Assyrian warfare accounts. The sixth century edition emphasises the theme of the land. The promise is emphasised and the conditionality of the right to live on the land is emphasised. Such themes are very much relevant for people who have lost their Promised Land. The socio-political changes correspond with the land theme just as the Canonization theory indicated. The negativity towards foreigners that the Deuteronomistic History evinces also corresponds with a period in which the Judeans are under foreign rule. Concerning the author, the study is comfortable with the idea of scribes as authors of the two editions. Among many theologies evident in the Deuteronomistic History, the study emphasises the negative attitude towards foreigners.

On Chronicles, the study settled for the late fifth century-early fourth century as the date for Chronicles. Since the Book of Chronicles evidently used the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah, which is a self-acclaimed post-exilic text, Chronicles is later than Ezra-Nehemiah. Again, the theology found in the Book of Chronicles, in line with the theory of Canonization, also reflects the theological dynamics of its time of origin. Identity contestation was very rife at this period. The returned exiles contested with the Judeans who had remained behind for the Israelite identity. There was also the question of the relationship of the Judeans with the foreigners. In contestation with the ideology of Ezra-Nehemiah and agreement with books like Jonah and Ruth, the Book of Chronicles advocated an inclusive ethnic theology. Concerning authorship, the study focused on the same authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, which is still a debatable issue.

The study argued that Chronicles was written by a separate author from the author of Ezra-Nehemiah. As already hinted, the theology of Chronicles was more accommodating the foreigners. The beginning from Adam is a manifestation of that perspective. The Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History therefore, originated from different historical contexts and the theologies in these books reflect the circumstances of the times of their origin. Since their times of origin differed, their theologies also differ. Because of the different historical contexts and different theologies, the researcher, as a Northern Nigerian is

faced with the task of determining an ethnic theology that is proper for the Northern Nigerian context. The study searches for an ethnic theology that will help a process of conflict prevention. Because the study reads the texts and utilises the exegetical methods mentioned above in the service of the Northern Nigerian context, the study is designated as African Biblical Hermeneutics. These are the presuppositions with which the texts are approached.

8.4 Ethnic Theology for Northern Nigeria

The last four chapters applied the method of ideologisation. Chapters four and five are actually parallel chapters; one on the Deuteronomistic History and one on the Chronistic History. These corpora are actually represented by passages from the books in them. For the Deuteronomistic History we used Joshua 6:1-27 and for the Chronistic History we used 1 Chronicles 7:20-29. Each chapter was investigated for its ethnic theology. The study compared the ethnic theologies discernible in the character of Joshua in the respective historiographies. Paramount in what the study illuminated is that these historiographies originated from different theological "schools". This assertion was revealed by investigating the covenants that form theological foundations for these historiographies. The Deuteronomistic History proved to be very much associable with the Mosaic Covenant. The Chronistic History, on the other hand, is associable with the Davidic Covenant.

Firstly, the Chronistic History used the Deuteronomistic books of Samuel and Kings as sources for its monarchic history. Secondly, the Exodus narrative, which is the introduction to the monarchic history of the Deuteronomistic History, was replaced with the genealogies from Genesis as an introduction to the Chronistic History. Thirdly, in quite a number of instances, the Chronistic History replaced references to Moses and the Exodus with David in parallel verses from the Deuteronomistic History. These covenants were also proved to be different in their theological nature. In the Mosaic Covenant God limits His scope of focus to Israel. In the Davidic Covenant, "God had pledged to produce through Abraham a line of kings that would find its historical locus in Israel, but would have ramifications extending far beyond Israel" (Grisanti, 1999:248). The idea that these corpora originated from different schools was also reinforced by an observation which was made by Walter Brueggemann long ago. In chapter seven Brueggemann was briefly quoted in this regard. It is imperative that Brueggemann be quoted quite extensively now:

> It has long been recognized that there are two circles of tradition in Israel's literature concerning covenant, one derived from Moses and the other Davidic in its formulation. The biblical tradition itself wishes to suggest that the two are continuous, so that the Davidic is a natural derivation from that of Moses and fully faithful to it. Undoubtedly,

> the circles around David urged this perception of the matter. Recent critical scholarship, however, has now made it reasonable to assume that these two articulations of covenant are not only distinct but also came from very different centers (sic) of power and very different processes of tradition building (1979:161).

After the discussions in chapters four and five, the study became convinced that the two covenants originate from different "schools of thought". The illumination of the ethnic theologies of these corpora was the first step of ideologisation. The second step was to present the historical context of Northern Nigeria. By presenting the context of Northern Nigeria, the study was positioning itself to be able to make a suitable choice for an ethnic theology that will suit the interests of Northern Nigeria. The context of Northern Nigeria was presented as a context that is plagued with ethnic/religious violence. It also proved that these circumstances are not good at all for Northern Nigeria. The sentiment that arose was that Northern Nigeria needed peace and an ethnic theology that fosters peace can serve the interests of Northern Nigeria best.

Having identified the need for Northern Nigeria, the study proceeded to make its choice between the two ethnic theologies. As already indicated, the ethnic theology of the Deuteronomistic History proved to be not good for Northern Nigeria. The Chronistic ethnic theology became a proper ethnic theology for Northern Nigeria. Three factors were brought forward as negative for a multi-ethnic context. The first one was the demonization of the "other". The second one was the "use" of religion for political purposes. The third one was the Doctrine of Divine Election. All three factors were identified in the ethnic theology of the Deuteronomistic History. They were not identified in the Chronistic History. The de-ideologisation process was finalised by choosing the Chronistic ethnic theology as a proper ethnic theology for the Northern Nigerian context. This is a theology that needs to be propagated in Northern Nigeria. Let us now revisit our research question, hypothesis and presuppositions so that we can check them against our conclusions.

8.5 Research Question, Hypothesis and Presuppositions

The research question of the study was phrased as follows: "What is the potential impact of the different presentations of Joshua, the son of Nun, in the DH on the one hand, and in the CH on the other, on the theological attitude of the Bible readers towards the ethnic/religious "other"? Furthermore, "Does the Old Testament provide one theological perspective on violence towards the 'other', and by extension, on ethnic/religious conflict? Does it reinforce or diminish the propensity to resolve conflict violently? This line of enquiry can be taken even further to ask

whether the Bible provides one theological perspective on violence. However, because this is an Old Testament study, the question is limited to the Old Testament.

It should be brought to the attention of the reader that when a researcher starts a research study, that researcher is not blank in terms of the information regarding the research study. For example, the researcher reads written material on the subject on which the researcher wants to write even before writing a research proposal. It should therefore not be a surprise that the researcher will provide a hypothesis which seems to be an answer already. The hypothesis is based on what the researcher knows concerning the subject before the study ensues. As the study progresses towards the end, the information the researcher had before the commencement of the study can either be confirmed or be proved inaccurate. The hypothesis helps the researcher to keep focus on the scope of the study.

To the research question of the study was that whether it is DH or CH, if the text advocates violence the potential influence of that text to the reader is to incline the reader to violent means of interaction. However, if the text advocates peace, that text is likely to incline the reader towards peaceful means of interaction. The study further hypothesised that the Old Testament does not provide one theological perspective on violence towards the 'other', and by extension, on ethnic/religious conflict. As the reader may agree, the study demonstrated that the Bible does not provide one theological perspective on ethnic theology. It provides both inclusive and exclusive ethnic theologies. The study further presented its presuppositions on the study. The first presupposition was that both the DH and the CH perspectives regarding ethnic/religious violence can influence the modern exegete in the interpretation of OT narratives. In chapter seven Babajimi Oladipo Faseke was referred to as demonstrating among Muslims how those who were violent read the Quran to justify violence and those who are peaceful referred to peaceful readings of the Quran (2013:52).

Faseke makes an example of different groups of Muslims that interpret the Quran differently. For example, the fanatics, "are opposed to interpreting text because of its susceptibility to errors and because it is believed the contents were divinely inspired, there is, therefore, no distinction between fact and fable" (2013:52). Such a literalist reading can lead to what can be called blind faith which can even lead to killing in the name of God. "Some have viewed the use of force to be compatible with the Quran" (2013:52). Using the same Quran, some have withheld representability, plurality and nonviolence. In the very last paragraph, he suggest that, in the case of Nigerian membership to the OIC, even if there are economic gains to be benefited from the relationship, if it is rejected by the Christians that is to no avail. Both Christian and Muslim have to endorse it if it is to work. The study further presupposed that a theological interpretation

of violence in Joshua, the son of Nun, can provide a biblical paradigm for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria.

The study also proved this to be true when it identified the theology evinced by Joshua in Chronicles as a biblical paradigm for conflict prevention in Northern Nigeria. Another presupposition was that the OT authors or redactors interpreted and explained the reality of ethnic/religious violence in accordance with the challenges of their respective socio-historical contexts. This was also confirmed when we indicated that both the editions of the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles reflected the circumstances of their times of origin. Lastly, the study hypothesised that Stordalen's theory of Canonization can be useful in understanding theological differences on violence in the Old Testament. We did demonstrate that the theory of Canonization does put the theological/ideological differences into perspective and thus make understandable why we have these differences. Both de-ideologisation and Canonization proved to be helpful for this study. Having evaluated our research question, hypothesis and presuppositions, let us now proceed to present our recommendations.

8.6 Recommendations

The first and the foundational recommendation the study makes is that it is necessary to pay increased attention to the relationship between the academic institutions, the ecclesial institutions and the social institutions. There is a need for a strong and concerted efforts to reinforce collaboration between these institutions. The academy has a vital role to play in this regard. At this juncture, Gerald West's comment comes into mind when he said:

> …we biblical scholars must be responsible to our discipline, and this requires that our actualisations are always *critical appropriations*. Ordinary readers of the bible, however, do not usually share our responsibility to the voice(s) of the text, but …I believe I can best serve them by respecting the biblical text (in all its dimensions) in my work with them (2008:222).

Here, West raises a crucial point about the role biblical scholars can play in conscientising ordinary readers about the dynamics of Bible reading. The academia can play a leading role in cementing the collaborative relationships between itself and the churches and society. This can take place in two ways. The academic institutions can facilitate programs that bring these constituencies closer to one another. An example that comes to mind is a Winter School that takes place every June at Stellenbosch University, where members of churches from a variety of denominations attend and participate in discussions on biblical themes. It is very important that these attendees are from a variety of denominations from different traditions. Universities

and colleges can also open up to different ecclesial traditions and not just serve particular denominational traditions. It is important that the academic institutions should reach out to the ecclesial establishments, for it might not be easy for some churches to reach out to universities especially that churches worship their traditions.

This study reckons that academic institutions stand a better chance to cross tradition boundaries than churches. Firstly, the academia can facilitate interaction between itself and church communities and social communities through individual scholars who engage in communities. It is not the intention of this discussion to provide the details of how individual scholars can engage in communities except to say, it can contribute a lot if biblical scholars could, in one way or another, share their theological skills with the churches and society. Academic institutions have a big role to play in cementing the academia-ecclesial relationship.

Secondly, churches are the closest to family homes. It is in the homes that theology gets its manifestation in real-life situations. Church ministers are more close to the ordinary people and they speak the language understood by the ordinary people. A reinforced relationship between the academia and the churches can constitute a stronger force to make impact in society. Different denominational churches need to be encouraged to collaborate in communities. Universities and colleges as trainers of ministers, also have an important role to play in terms of curricula that entrench this kind of attitude. This is not as easy as it is expressed here. However, it would be fruitful if training institutions, through their curricula, open and hidden, would produce ministers who will find their ecclesial locus in their ecclesial traditions but would also have ramifications extending beyond their ecclesial traditions. At this point an extensive quotation from Juliana Claassens is in order. Writing about what universities could do to serve the cause of reading the Bible to liberate humanity she says:

> Actually, what is at stake in this exercise of reading for the dignity for all is the question of how we can help our respective constituencies; in the case of university professors, our students; for pastors, our parishioners, to move from being compliant readers to conversant readers … I have found that many of our new students experience this task to be quite challenging – as one student the other day in class aptly said: students come from communities of compliant readers and will return once more to such communities. He also mentioned that he was saddened by the fact that some of the pastors in his denomination, quite a few whom also have been our students, either never make this transition or revert back to a position of what is familiar and hence safe. This raises the question for further reflection with which I conclude this paper: What does it take to

> teach conversant readers who will read the Bible for the dignity of all? And perhaps even more importantly, how can we as teachers ensure that this transformation from compliant to conversant readers sticks …? (2015:170-171).

The universities and colleges can play a very important role in fostering this attitude during the training of the theological candidates. Even after training, universities and colleges could follow their graduates because when they get into ministry challenges discourage them to keep contact with their former training institutions.

In terms of interpreting Scriptures, the idea of understanding Scriptures as comprising of both inclusive and exclusive tendencies is prime for reading Scriptures in an environment contaminated by ethnic/religious divisions. Religious believers lock their minds to new ideas sometimes, which makes it difficult to exchange with them. Nevertheless, this is an idea that needs intense and concerted effort to advocate among believers of all religious groups. In 1987 Nigeria promulgated the *Advisory Council on Religious Affairs Act* (No. 30 of 1987) (Chapter 9). This act made it possible to have an inter-religious statutory body that would make recommendations on how to attain religious harmony. The most important thing about this advisory council is that it comprises of an equal number of Christian and Muslim representatives and it operates at the federal level. Establishments of this nature need a joint effort by religious/theological scholars from all sides of the religious divides to interact with them.

The understanding of Scripture as a double-edged sword needs to be a priority agenda item for any religious discussion. A peaceful ethnic theology needs to be emphasised at academic institutions in order to underlie any inter-religious discussions. Accompanying the double-edged-sword nature of the Scriptures is the equation that Scripture-equals-Word-of-God. This is also a doctrinal issue that needs a status of national agenda item. While institutions of federal level are important, local Bible study sessions are the most important. These two issues need to be granted the status of urgent agenda items at local level Scripture readings in all religious groups that exist. Whatever prescripts people follow from Scripture, is a choice they make among other options, consciously or unconsciously. Full-scale academic research enterprises on these two doctrinal issues are matter of urgency.

This study can provide a whole range of recommendations. However, most of them have already been made in other studies and it would not add any value into the discourse to repeat all those recommendations. The study, instead recommends collaboration with all stakeholders

in the issue of violence, taking into account all the recommendations that have been made already in the past.

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